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Twelve Mexican-Americans In Higher Education: Their Mobility Process

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Twelve Mexican Americans in Higher Education: Their Mobility Process

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Abstract of Dissertation

The purpose of the study was to examine the career paths of upwardly mobile Hispanic educators to isolate those factors which were important in the mobility process. The goal of this study was to discover what factors account for mobility and what kinds of experiences hinder upward movement of minority individuals.

Twelve Hispanic educators from central and northern California were interviewed using an open-ended, retrospective interview format. The data were analyzed to determine the common patterns in social mobility among the 12 participants from impoverished, minority backgrounds.

The study identified ways in which social class impacted negotiating strategies, including situational survival, retaining a present time orientation, keeping the dream focus flexible, and settling on a community of symbolic membership. The data also identified ways in which culture impacted career through the importance of retaining symbolic membership as part of the dream, including career choice, and to provide cultural mentoring once well established in career. Mentoring became the most important feature of mobility both in early and professional career. In early career mentoring was often momentary and came from a variety of sources, including parents and teachers, among others. To be effective, mentoring had to structure advice about the future as a set of options which could be compared within a present-time orientation. In professional career, mentoring was longer-term (or traditional mentoring).

School counselors, educators, and therapeutic counselors need to be aware of the importance that momentary mentoring can have on minority youth; be there to suggest the next possible step for these youth to consider; and actively seek out and offer support in the form of pointing out options which make sense to students in terms of the present. Future research should examine other minority professional populations to test the hypothesis that successful mentoring for mobile minorities involves the conditions identified in this study. Several other hypotheses were also developed.

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Chapter 1

The Question of Individual Choices in Career Decisions

This study examined the lives of 12 Hispanic educators in an attempt to discover the factors that helped them achieve upward mobility. These factors were determined by examining each career path which began with family life and culminated in a professional position. After the exploration of these different paths, the processes these individuals underwent were analyzed.

Three conceptual frameworks were used to analyze the findings from the interviews: from sociology the idea of negotiated order, from anthropology the ideas of cultural brokerage and constructive marginality, and from psychology the concept of adult development. These frameworks helped examine the career paths of upwardly mobile Hispanic educators.

The study of careers and work in upwardly mobile Hispanics can be examined and understood best in a conceptual framework which includes Levinson's concept of life structure, Strauss's idea of negotiated order and career negotiations, and Arvizu's findings about the meaning of culture during the career development of this population. Taken together, they offer a context in which the mobility process for a low-income minority population can be examined and, finally, explained in terms useful to educators and counselors.

The general question that led to this research was: What factors contributed to the mobility of low-income Hispanics who became professionals in California institutions of higher education? Recent statistics

show that Hispanics account for only 3% of the faculty in the University of California system and the California State University system. The percentage of Hispanic faculty in California community colleges is not significantly higher at 5% (California Post Secondary Education Commission, "Women and Minorities in California's Post-Secondary Education, 1975-1983" n.d.). The Hispanic student population in the California State University (CSU) system comprises only 10% of the CSU student body (according to a July 9, 1985 press release by Chancellor Reynolds of the CSU system). The representation of Hispanics in higher education is disproportionately low when compared with the percentage of Hispanics in California's population, which is currently approximately 22%. Answering the question of how this small percentage of faculty achieved their mobility should raise many questions for counselors and educators.

The field of adult development examines many tasks related to the mobility process. These include major areas such as work and longitudinal development through the life span (e.g. career development, family development, etc.). Studies have included such areas as biological and physiological changes associated with the aging process, the family cycle, moral and ethical development, psychological maturity, and careers. These topics cannot be explored in isolation because of the qualities of exchange and mutual influence that weave through the many themes of adult life. Most of these studies depend on extensive interviewing to collect information. This methodology is used to gain a longitudinal, retrospective view of each individual's life. This study examined many of these factors in relation to their career development .

Statement of the Problem

The career paths of upwardly mobile Mexican American professionals do not seem to be well understood or studied. How do children from impoverished and minority backgrounds make their way into professional careers? The answers to this question may prove useful in counseling or teaching Hispanic children. The sample selected to explore this consists of Mexican Americans from low-income backgrounds, making it a study of how Hispanics in higher education become upwardly mobile from impoverished or working class backgrounds. This study therefore involved an examination of both social class and cultural background as factors affecting upward mobility and professional work.

This study examines and describes the factors perceived by participants to be most important in the mobility processes of professional Hispanics in their careers in higher education in California. Originally the study sample was comprised only of men. However, two women were eventually included for two reasons: (a) an all male sample was difficult to find in the geographic area accessible to the researcher, and (b) the researcher was curious about whether there would be any significant differences between males and females. (The researcher understands that an N=2 does not constitute a large enough number to be significant; however differences might suggest gender-related hypotheses which may be tested in subsequent studies.)

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to identify and analyze factors contributing to the mobility of low-income Hispanics who achieved professional careers in higher education. The findings suggested a conceptual structure showing how this sample approached their careers, who and what was influential in reaching the final career choice, the impact of mobility struggles, and the effects of prejudice on their mobility.

This study is not longitudinal in nature, but approaches career development retrospectively. This process of exploring careers allowed for the highlighting of differences in career negotiating strategies, how the interpenetration of events affected career choices and how subsequent decisions were based on past experiences. What was arrived at in the final analysis was a set of factors involved in the development of career paths and some hypotheses to guide future research.

The questions which guided this study included:

1. How do Hispanics from working class backgrounds become upwardly mobile?
2. What negotiating strategies do they use to gain employment and advancement in higher education?
3. What is the role of mentoring in upward mobility?
4. What sorts of careers do upwardly mobile Hispanics develop in higher education? What are the characteristics of career patterns of Hispanics in higher education?

From these general questions a specific list of open-ended questions was generated to interview participants about their life course, how

decisions were made, reactions to career choices, career dreams or lack thereof, familial background and other influences which impacted their careers. Interview questions are found in Appendix A.

Procedures

The exploration of people's lives from a retrospective perspective was accomplished by using qualitative research methods. Specifically, qualitative design, sometimes referred to as the phenomenological approach, and especially the grounded theory approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1968) and Glaser (1978) is an effective approach in an unexplored area. The retrospective interview allows people to review their own history and report it longitudinally, even though the intent or purpose of the study is not longitudinal. The biographical approach to the study of personality was first utilized by Murray (1938), and most recently by Levinson (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & Braxton, 1978). Murray's basic premise was that a part of a dynamic process, in this case negotiating strategies, would not be discovered and understood without examination of the whole over time. Thus the retrospective interviewing process used in this study allowed a look at the sample over time without making it a longitudinal study.

Because this topic is exploratory in nature, it is not within the scope of this project to draw conclusions, but to generate broad hypotheses which can be tested at a later time. Therefore, as Schatzman and Strauss (1973) state:

> ...a method of inquiry is adequate when its operations are logically consistent with the questions being asked;

> when it adapts to the special characteristics of the thing or event being examined; and when its operations provide information, evidence, and even simply perspective, that bear upon the questions being posed. (p. 8)

The primary objective with this methodology is an understanding of career development generated from the perspective of the participants. In-depth interviewing allows an individual to describe the range of conditions under which career development has taken place. Thus, the data are generated by the sample and are not known before hand. This study adapted itself to the special characteristics of the processes examined (because, without hearing individuals talk about life, it would be nearly impossible to gain information about strategies they used to develop goals or make plans, how they made decisions to take particular jobs, etc.)

Sampling and Sampling Devices

The sample for this study included ten male and two female Hispanic educators holding M.A., Ed.D., or Ph.D. degrees who were working at two or four year institutions of higher education in the central and northern part of California at the time the interviews were conducted. The participants were found through a process commonly called "network sampling" essentially meaning that once the sample criteria have been established, one seeks members of this population until enough informants have been included. Fourteen individuals were originally asked to participate. Initial contact was accomplished through a phone call explaining the general scope of the study and requesting participation. All participants initially agreed to be interviewed. Two participants requested copies of the interview questions prior to the interview. Of those two subjects, one agreed to participate and

one declined to participate because the questions were too "personal". One other potential participant was dropped from the study because only one of his parents was of Mexican descent, which did not fit the selection criteria.

General Characteristics of the Sample. Participants in this study were selected in terms of several criteria. All participants' parents are of Mexican descent. All participants have attained a master's or doctoral degree. At the time of this study, they all held professional positions in two or four year colleges or universities.

Participants were recruited from the central valley and northern California, and final selection was influenced on the basis of financial and time resources available to the investigator/researcher. Within these confines, informants representing a range of professional position and diversity of educational discipline were identified and actively sought.

Sampling Instrumentation

The 12 interviewees were asked to participate in a semistructured interview. Semistructured interviewing is an appropriate methodology for a theoretical investigation, as it allows for the exploration of the career negotiation strategies. Interviews were taped and transcribed. The interview included a discussion of the individual's career path, family background, career choice, struggles, perceptions of their institution, and their perceptions of themselves within the political climate of their institution.

The Retrospective Interview Process

To discuss the interview process, it is best to use the words of

Levinson et al. (1978):

> We do not use a predetermined interview schedule, that is, a list of questions to be gone through serially in a standard order. Certain topics should be covered, but sequence is variable and a product of the ongoing transactions. The interviewer's task is not simply to elicit specific information but to generate, maintain, and terminate a relationship of significance to both parties... (p. 31)

The interviewer must integrate into the interview situation the various areas of a person's life: the sequence of major events, turning points, and relatively stable periods; the interpenetration of the various areas of living; and a sense of the different periods of the life story while understanding the overall character of the individual's life in the past, present, and projected future.

In reporting qualitative research, it is common practice to bring in literature at appropriate points in the analysis as opposed to reviewing literature at one point and referring back to it during the analysis of data. In this study Chapter 3 presents case histories of the 12 informants to allow the reader a chance to get a sense about the informants' lives. Chapter 3 also presents 4 tables depicting general childhood and early adulthood facts such as language of childhood, place in sibling hierarchy, favored child status, age of acquisition of terminal degree, and many more. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the informants' early work periods, including examples of their struggles, the beginnings of career directions, the developing importance of mentoring, and the importance of a present time orientation. Chapter 5 presents an analysis of professional work, post terminal degree and includes examination of institutional issues, the

meaning of professional work, career development, and the continual influence of the present time orientation for this sample. Major themes in the lives of the 12 informants are thus examined as they initiated, supplemented, or detracted from developing and negotiating careers.

Definition of Terms

Gatekeeping - the process of selective admission to some social resource. In this study, the term is used negatively to indicate the placement of barriers to social mobility.

Marginality - the perception by self or others that individuals, by distinction of ethnicity, culture, sex, or other distinguishing characteristics are not central to the organization. This is a characteristic that changes for some of the participants later in their careers.

Mentoring -Levinson uses this term to indicate a long-term advocacy and advisement of a mentee's career. In this study, a distinct category of mentoring emerged as important to the sample's mobility. This was momentary or situational mentoring, which differed in that it occurred for a short period of time or only in a single situation. These terms are used synonymously, as a single category.

Mexican American - A person born in the United States of Mexican descent, either first, second, or third generation. This study uses the terms Mexican American, Hispanic, and Chicano interchangeably to denote ethnic group membership. The term Chicano is used to identify a social/political stance which includes but goes beyond an ethnic identification. This usage occurs

primarily in Chapters 3, 4, & 5 in discussions of the Chicano movement of the 1960's and 1970's.

Professional Work - A position in higher education requiring the attainment of a master's degree or higher.

World View - A pervasive way individuals view their lives, their place in the world, and how the "world" accepts them. A world view contains both passive and active dimensions, one of which dominates for each individual (Lefcourt,1982).

Assumptions

1. The prime assumption in any interview study is that the participants told the truth about their lives. There is a further assumption that, apart from "truth," the participants have special access enabling them to "know" what events contributed significantly to their current situation.
2. Self-report measures and interviewing, while not easily verified and generalized through the use of "scientific" methodology, are the best tools psychological research has at the present time to gain access to individual beliefs, feelings, and thoughts in a retrospective framework. Retrospective events are subject to selective recall, so they are not used in this study to develop causal explanations.

Significance of the Study

Understanding how individuals negotiate career paths may be important for counselors and psychologists, as these individuals assist young people in making career choices. With an understanding of

professional work and of how aspirations and upward mobility are affected by school personnel (teachers, counselors, and principals), counselors may undertake a different approach when working with Hispanic students.

Therapeutic counselors can better understand clients who appear lost or confused about career goals and how best to reach them with knowledge regarding the potential conflict between professionalism and an initial sense of isolation inherent in entry into a new social class. The findings and conceptual structures examined in this study provide a framework from which counselors can enhance the life changes of young Mexican Americans.

Summary

This study examined how 12 Mexican Americans from a working class background achieved professional status in higher education. The conceptual structure used to examine the mobility process is found in Chapter 2, where two theoretical frameworks, those of adult development and negotiated order are embellished by Arvizu's (1984) ideas of cultural brokering and constructive marginality.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 analyze and interpret the interview data, specifically showing how these 12 informants have negotiated their career paths, what childhood experiences set their perceptions in such a fashion to help produce the current career paths, what early work experiences and school experiences set the tone for movement from one social class to another--in other words, those factors which influence mobility. Chapter 6

presents a summary of findings, defining the process of how individual Hispanics operate and negotiate their lives. Chapter 6 will conclude with specific recommendations for further research based on hypotheses generated from this study.

Chapter 2

Theoretical and Empirical Approaches to the Study of Career

The negotiated order framework which provides one of the basic conceptual structures for this study, emerged as a research construct during the late 1950's and early 1960's. When the word negotiation is mentioned, most people think of two groups of people with representatives attempting to work out a compromise.

There is another way of defining negotiation and that is to view it at an individual (personal) level. The focus here is on how individuals negotiate their way through a career. As a labor union negotiates for benefits for its workers, individuals negotiate interactions with their world, both interpersonally in friendships, work places, families, and within themselves.

Martin (1976) defined negotiation as the "total set of processes whereby actors in pursuit of common interests try to arrive at a settlement or arrangement with each other or with a third party. Negotiation, as such, may involve implicit or explicit bargaining, as well as other interaction tactics." (p. 6) Strauss (1978) added a slightly different perspective to the concept by stating that, "Negotiation generally will stand for one of the possible means of 'getting things accomplished' when parties need to deal with each other to get those things done." (p. 2)

This framework or perspective as it is called by various authors, is extremely useful from a social psychological view, in that it:

> ...recognizes and attempts to take into account the importance of understanding interaction processes

> as well as the structural features of organizational life. It stresses the point of view that one of the principal ways that things get accomplished in organizations is through people negotiating with one another, and it takes the theoretical position that both individual action and organizational constraint can be comprehended by understanding the nature and contexts of those negotiations. (Charlton & Maines, 1980, p. 2)

This study looked at careers as negotiations through the life cycle. As mentioned earlier, careers do not progress in isolation but are a combination of interests individuals have for doing something productive with their work time. Careers also provide a means of support for individuals and their families, aiding individuals in living out their personalities, skills, interests, and providing a backdrop for family and social endeavors. Thus, the decisions (negotiations) that resulted in career paths were analyzed in two intertwining ways: (1) negotiations with self and others around career decisions and (2) the stages of adult development (Levinson et al., 1978).

The Negotiated Order Perspective

Charlton and Maines' (1980) theory of negotiated order in the workplace provided one framework for this study which allowed the initial questions to be asked and gave rise to other pertinent questions. A brief overview of Charlton and Maines' framework will be laid out to provide a context for this study. Certain assumptions underlying their theory follow:

1. Careers do not exist in isolation but in interaction with people who comprise organizations.
2. Work is accomplished by people negotiating with one another, and individual action and organizational constraints can be comprehended by

understanding the nature and contexts of those negotiations.

3. Patterns of human action provide an understanding of the structural conditions of organizational life as people collectively face problems of constructing and maintaining a viable environment.

4. Organizational structure including rules and policies, the kinds of work groups within the organization, career lines, and the goals of the organization provide the "background" through which people interact on a daily basis to get their work done.

5. Negotiations between participants in an organization occur when rules and policies are not inclusive, when there are disagreements, when there is uncertainty, and when changes are introduced.

Some of the factors impinging on any negotiation are the structures within which they take place. The structure of social organizations can be broken down into two basic subsystems: structural properties and structural conditions. Structural properties are the stable features of the organization including: organizational rules and policies, the kinds of work groups within the organization, the divisions of labor and hierarchies of authority, the ideologies of the participants, career lines, and the goals of the organization (Charlton & Maines, 1980). This is the basic structure within which people interact to get work done on a day-to-day basis.

Social organization cannot be understood without an appreciation of the interpersonal dimensions of human conduct. Individual needs and goals which differ among people constitute the structural conditions of the organization. When there are unwritten rules and policies, when individuals from more than one level interact, conditions must be established so that

negotiations can transpire. Structural conditions sometimes make certain actions by individuals necessary and at other times the same conditions may require flexibility and creative adaptation (Charlton & Maines, 1980). The reverse is also true, that individual professional identities cannot be fully comprehended independently of the organizational contexts in which they exist.

Negotiations always focus on shared interests, in that both parties have vested interests in their overall interactions and these interests are salient in the processes of coming to terms with one another. Thus both individual action and organizational constraint interact to form the nature and contexts of negotiation. Negotiations can and do take place during any phase of an interaction process, from negotiating personal and/or social identities, interactive roles and responsibilities, agendas, to career paths and life courses. Sometimes these negotiations are intertwined, negotiating several issues at one point and sometimes there is no room for any type of negotiation (Charlton & Maines, 1980; Martin, 1976).

There are five basic phases in the negotiation process: (a) preconditions or the negotiation context, (b) extent, (c) stages, (d) strategies and tactics, and (e) outcomes or consequences. This grouping allows one to separate into analyzable events the interactions of negotiating.

There are other factors which affect negotiations. Some constraints and structural limitations which can impact the negotiation process include: (1) the organizational setting with its constraints on negotiations; (2) the external setting "within" which the organization is located; (3) the large-scale setting (total organization or system); (4) historical as well as

contemporary considerations; and (5) power, dominance, and political considerations (Strauss, 1978).

The idea that there is a limit to what can be negotiated has been raised by researchers in this area. What must be addressed regarding the issue of limits is whose choice it is to set limits. It may be that what one individual perceives as limits, another with greater resources, time, money, skill, information, "awareness", boldness, or perhaps desperation, may not perceive as limits. It may also be that full negotiation is not possible, everything taken into account, but that the issue is negotiable in some sense, some way, or to some degree (Strauss, 1978).

Charlton and Maines' phases of the negotiation process and factors affecting negotiations provide a framework for this study which was used to devise questions and retain sensitivity to the context of the mobility process. The idea of negotiating a career path allows the concept of mobility to be more a matter of choice and decision making than something of a haphazard nature.

Work and the Adult Life Cycle

The second theoretical framework upon which this study is built is adult development. Various parts of adult work life include: planning for a career, establishing and working toward a dream, the need to accomplish something with one's life, and the desire to make a contribution to one's profession. These functions intertwine themselves with the more concrete aspects of the world.

There are many phases and chores of adulthood which, until recently,

have been lumped together with little investigation or questioning of how or why they occur. The question of general patterns adults follow through the life cycle has also been neglected. Researchers have recently suggested that there are logical rationalizations to the hows, whys, and patterns of adult life (Erikson, 1968; Featherman, 1980; Levinson et al., 1978; Levinson, 1980; Meehl, 1978; Neugarten, 1968; and Vaillant, 1977). To date, Levinson et al., (1978) has provided the most thorough examination of the adult life structure, its cycles, and tasks. Levinson et al., (1978) suggested a series of developmental stages and tasks which each adult male traversed between age 17 and death. (Levinson has made a similar study on the female adult life cycle, in press.) Each stage or era as Levinson refers to them brings with it developmental tasks which, depending upon how each is completed, affect how individuals progress to later stages in living out the choices of their lives.

In the life course there are many tasks happening at one time, each of which impinges on other tasks, and none of which happen in isolation:

> The individual life structure is a patterning of self and world. However, self and world are not two separate entities.... An essential feature of human life is the interpenetration of self and world. Each is inside the other. Our thinking about one must take account of the other. (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 47)

Central issues of adult development include five intertwined functions. Personality development is not completed in adolescence but continues throughout the life cycle via the process of evaluation and modification. As new behaviors are learned, old patterns are changed by experiences and present needs. Adult socialization with its focus on the many roles each

person juggles is the second major issue. Socialization includes such factors as occupational choice, family commitments, one's place in the community of others, and the many social identifications each individual establishes. Whether an individual is a teacher, police officer, entrepreneur, engineer, field laborer, homemaker, or gardener, each role has value assigned to it both by the individual and by society-at-large. Part of who one is and how one views the world comes from the social identifications each individual makes.

The third issue is adaptation which focuses on "how" the individual negotiates with the self and the world, what strategies are used and how one perceives oneself in relation to the world. Case studies presented in Chapter 3 illustrate the strategies employed by individuals in their negotiations through life; how individualistic and yet similar they are.

Fourth is the evolution of the individual life structure. The evolution process is guided by inner strivings and external pressures including goals, aspirations, mobility, morals, and values. This is where the individual enters the adult world, looks at options, and decides how well the options fit with goals and values established in childhood and adolescence. It is here that the dream (in Levinson's terms) is established which also determines to a great extent social identification and negotiation strategies to be used.

The fifth issue superimposes a structure on these functions in the form of eras or periods of adulthood. Each period has certain tasks which must be resolved. Influenced by the individual's life course, one may be early or late moving through the periods depending on the uniqueness of each phase, how long it lasts, who is around to help, and so forth.

Levinson acknowledged that these eras or periods of adult life are somewhat arbitrary. Having age guidelines is somewhat helpful in looking at adult development, but more important are the tasks which accompany each period of life--how they are negotiated, whether the structures built need only slight modification or significant overhauling, whether life crises are small or large, and how well individuals interact with their changing world both internally and externally.

The Eras of the Life Cycle

	0–17	Childhood and Adolescence
	17–22	Early Adult Transition
Early Adulthood	22–28	Entering the Adult World
	28–33	Age 30 Transition
	33–40	Settling Down
	40–45	Midlife Transition
Middle Adulthood	45–50	Entering Middle Adulthood
	50–55	Age 50 Transition
	55–60	Culmination of Middle Adulthood
Late Adulthood	60–65	Late Adult Transition
	65-on	Late Adulthood

(Levinson, 1980, p. 283)

If one looks at the whole of the life structure, every component has both an internal and an external aspect to it. External aspects encompass other persons, social systems, and other outside realities with which the individual is involved. The internal aspects include values, desires, conflicts, skills, and a multiplicity of parts of the self which are experienced as one lives out relationships.

In all societies, work forms one of the basic structures for both the individual and the group (Miller, 1981). Persons generally want to contribute labor in some form of work deemed useful for the common good. A person's occupation is one of the primary factors determining income, prestige, and

place in society. Universally, work is organized into a number of socially defined occupations that are taught, given differential value and reward, and integrated into some form of economic structure.

Over a period of years, a person chooses and forms an occupation. According to Levinson et al. (1978), all men make one or more changes, some of them quite marked, within the original occupation or from one occupation to another. The choice of an occupation places the person within a particular socioeconomic level and work world. The work world exerts a strong influence on the options available to the individual, the choices which can be made among them, and the possibilities for satisfaction and advancement. The work world also influences the choices one makes in other areas of life.

Most often choice of occupation comes from within the self and has important ramifications for the self. Quite often it is the primary medium through which a young person's dreams about the future are defined, and then it becomes the vehicle used to pursue those dreams. If a good choice is made, the occupation permits the fulfillment of basic values and life goals. If a poor choice is made, a person's work life can become oppressive and corrupting over a span of time, contributing to a sense of alienation from self, work, and society (Levinson et al., 1978). In studying these 12 Hispanic educators, it is important to understand the meaning of work and the many ways in which it functions to fulfill, to barely sustain, or to destroy the self.

Bridging the Gap: Negotiated Order and Adult Development

A recent study by Arvizu (1984) illustrated how the two frameworks

under discussion here can be utilized to analyze and explain the mix of professional aspiration and cultural binding present in many minority professionals. His basic premise illustrated how Chicano educators use roles as cultural brokers to innovate and to solve problems in cross-cultural educational settings.

Arvizu studied, through life-history interviews, participant observation, and questionnaires, the lives and struggles of 21 Chicano educators (including himself). He spent 10 years collecting his data, developing personal relationships with those he studied. This relationship also provided him with the advantage of observing change and growth in his sample. Arvizu makes two interesting observations about his sample:

> Mobility among the group selected for study became a concern in terms of type of institution in which they worked, but the brokerage nature of their work did not appear to be altered as a result of changes in job location....they do what they do for a living by conscious choice, and this characteristic makes them intriguing key informants on psycho-cultural adaptation in U.S. society (p. 34).

Arvizu was able to persuade his informants to discuss some issues such as discrimination and strategies used to deal with discriminatory incidents in more depth than was possible in the current study. Arvizu (1984) even found himself in a position of having to negotiate with his informants to get them to participate in his study. As he states, these interpersonal negotiations which occurred over a number of years, "resulted in several important revisions and additions to the research" (p. 35).

In the present study, informants were already established as insiders in their institutions and thus many informants were hesitant to discuss

discrimination openly as they saw it from an insider's perspective. Arvizu looked more at people who were outsiders looking in, expecting something from "institutional membership." Those in this sample realized that inside membership isn't significantly empowering but in actuality is constrictive when they must "play the institutional game."

Analysis of data in Arvizu's study focused on how each of his informants overcame discrimination, became conscious of the need to "work for change in those instances where they believed they could make a difference in promoting more equitable conditions." (p. 135) Arvizu's sample members gradually became aware of the strategies and tactics they used to create change.

The individuals in Arvizu's study utilized various strategies to deal with discrimination. The strategies included developing pride in their educational attainments; using support systems such as family, church, peers (other activists), and teachers or other adults who were supportive. Another strategy used by some of Arvizu's informants was joining the military as an avenue to get out of an oppressive environment. Arvizu also noted that discrimination toward the Chicano came in many forms ranging from blatant, overt remarks, to much more subtle, covert acts such as not being recognized in class when raising one's hand or having students associate with them in class, but not outside of school.

The same basic strategies found in Arvizu's research are confirmed in the present study. The present study builds upon the brokerage roles as Arvizu has labeled them, and examines how the participants in this study used these various roles to assist them in their career negotiations.

What Arvizu found generated by the data, was a classification of roles that these informants created and utilized for problem solving in their professional careers. He suggested that individuals who chose to see themselves as change agents became adept at utilizing a variety of strategies for coping with different situations. Of importance to this study are his conclusions which suggest four important contributions to understanding more fully an individual working between two cultures.

1. Individuals exhibit a considerable amount of free will and develop their own pattern of taking what they need from multiple cultures to reach their goals.
2. Individuals, to varying degrees, adapt their cultural orientation over a number of years. Thus, culture is not seen as static, but dynamic as a cumulative and continuous process.
3. The informants studied showed skill for utilizing a variety of roles in their careers to mediate, problem-solve, and innovate. Important aspects of these roles include bicultural creativity, constructive marginality, and political and cultural brokerage.
4. People in Arvizu's study were able to deal with negative consequences of their marginality (discrimination and powerlessness) by looking at those factors and finding positive or constructive means of dealing with problems and feelings.

What Arvizu found was a group of individuals, committed to improving their lives and those around them through the adaptation of unique roles and perspectives. Looking at Arvizu's findings from another perspective, one could say his categorization of "brokers" is one facet of the kinds of

negotiations found in careers.

The Conceptual Framework of the Study

Thus far three frameworks have been presented, each contributing a part of the analysis which follows: from sociology the idea of negotiated order, from anthropology the ideas of cultural brokerage and constructive marginality, and from psychology the concept of adult development. This framework helps one examine the career paths of upwardly mobile Hispanic educators in that it presents a clear understanding of the effects of mobility in this sample.

Adult Development - The Long Haul

Study of the adult life cycle suggests that a longitudinal evolution of development exists which is built on the goals, values, aspirations, and upward mobility needs of the working class. One of the primary tasks to be accomplished in the life cycle is work. Work encompasses the dream (Levinson et al., 1978) or choice of occupation, the progression through a career including the development of meaning in one's work with the result being attainment of senior membership, or having status (i.e., full professor) in one's profession. The success of accomplishing each milestone is dependent on the individual's skill in negotiating the best possible outcome for upward movement. Thus each life event is affected by the motivation, support, and knowledge the individual possesses and utilizes at each turn in the course of one's life.

Effects of Social Class

Much of the historical research on class differences attribute a majority of negative characteristics to lower class children and a majority of positive characteristics to middle class children. Characteristics such as intellectual capacity or tendency toward aggression have been studied, proved, and then disputed. However, one characteristic that appears to have withstood scrutiny is that of time orientation. A variety of researchers (Kohn, 1977; Cohen, 1969; Gordon, 1965; Hernandez, 1973; Lewis, 1968; Logan & O'Hearn, 1982; and Zigler, 1970) have stated that for a variety of reasons, a dominant characteristic of the working class is a present time orientation versus a future orientation commonly found in the middle and upper classes.

Gordon (1965) suggested that this time orientation comes from lower socioeconomic parents training their children with immediate rewards and punishments while upper socioeconomic parents stress the future by often deferring punishments and rewards. Logan and O'Hearn (1982) and Cohen, (1969) reported that cultures which differ from middle class Anglo values have an ego-centered, present-centered orientation to life. This pattern of present, self-centered thinking provides significant reinforcement for not moving beyond concrete-operational thought. Another perspective from Hernandez (1973) was that the environment of many working class Hispanics fosters uncertainty and disorganization which inhibits future planning and makes living a day-to-day existence a necessity.

For the sample in this study it became evident that a traditional

working class characteristic of present time orientation supersedes the middle class orientation of long range planning in the professional world. This apparently pervasive negotiating strategy found with these participants is called, for the purpose of this study, situational survival. For this upwardly mobile sample, the use of "situational mentors" became the strategy to put direction into each of the subject's lives. Situational mentoring is the help received from others in the form of motivation, support, or information which allows the individual to take advantage of the next incremental in negotiating a career.

Situational survival has several components including: (a) a present time orientation, (b) utilization of situational mentors for the accomplishment of specific tasks, (c) an identity linked to a cultural (ethnic) community, and (d) a basic decision making process which evaluates the next step in the path as somehow better than the present situation with very little forethought of anything long-term (e.g., it must be better than where I am now). The career paths of this sample were examined in the context of a working class background, which generated the desire for upward mobility. Thus, situational survival is viewed as a negotiating strategy which utilizes situational mentoring along the way.

Process--Negotiated Careers

The theoretical framework of negotiated order is basically a step-by-step process; a means for getting things accomplished. It explains the structural features and conditions of an organization, how work is accomplished, and how people interact with each other in the workplace.

Career negotiations for the participants became effective when they utilized the present time orientation of situational survival which included the retaining of cultural values while moving forward or laterally with each situational negotiation.

In applying the process of negotiation to the structure of adult development, one finds a negotiation component in every decision about career. This led to the idea of negotiating a career, being mentored, moving up through the organizational hierarchy, finding meaningful work, and, in turn, mentoring those who follow.

Identity

The primary function of a broker is to negotiate between two parties. In this study, the role of cultural broker appears to be a part of one's identity who has taken on or accepted multiple roles (i.e., job, spokesperson for the community, activist, etc.). Viewing oneself as a cultural broker one attempts to bring enlightenment and equity through negotiation around shared interests. A cultural broker accepts a cultural identity as well as a professional identity and utilizes both positions as strategies to negotiate a career.

Arvizu's concept is confirmed in the lives of this sample, but in looking at career from this perspective, the idea is most prominent in how the participants define their work as meaningful in their professional careers. The concept exists as Arvizu stated, but was examined here from the perspective of how it facilitates the individual in developing meaningful work in a career.

Summary

The study of careers in upwardly mobile Hispanics can be examined and understood best in a conceptual framework which includes Levinson's concept of life structure, Strauss's idea of negotiated order and career negotiations, and Arvizu's findings about the meaning of culture during career development. This study also examines socioeconomic factors rather that cultural factors as having traditionally stood in the way of upward mobility. Taken together, they offer a context in which the mobility process for a low income Mexican American population can be examined and explained.

Chapter 3 presents case studies of the 12 informants and overviews how each has negotiated his/her career. General findings and similarities are presented at the end of the chapter. Chapter 4 applies the framework presented here to the early lives of the participants, examining in depth the notions of situational survival and situational mentoring. Chapter 5 applies the framework to later career and examines in more depth the ideas of meaningful work and cultural mentoring and how these aspects of professional careers are negotiated. Chapter 6 presents conclusions and implications of the findings of this study.

Chapter 3

The Beginnings of Career Development in the Twelve

This chapter begins with an introduction to each of the 12 informants, some descriptive information about each, an analysis of how each individual negotiated his/her career, and the effects of adult development and mobility on each of their lives. General findings are summarized after the case presentations. Four tables summarizing common characteristics of the informants are presented as part of the general findings.

As the case studies are displayed in the next section, reference will be made to the demographic data included in the tables later in this chapter. The reader should keep in mind that demographic data, while often overlooked, can have significant influence on the hows, whats, and whys of traversing a life. The demographic data and its interrelationships form some of the patterns evident in the lives of these 12 interviewees.

Twelve Lives

To protect the anonymity of the informants, Spanish nicknames have been assigned to all informants and will be the only names used to refer to them. Each nickname was chosen to represent some characteristic of the individual which had a strong impact on the researcher. Nicknames are defined and explained in each case study presentation.

Of the 12 informants, four were known to the researcher prior to this

study. The other eight informants were asked to participate with no prior history between participant and researcher. Three interviews were conducted in the homes of the informants, the other nine interviews were conducted in their offices or other suitable rooms on their campus. Of the 12 informants, eight were born in California, and one each in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and Texas. One of the California born was raised for part of his childhood in Mexico and Arizona. Six of the subjects reported being raised in poverty conditions while the other six came from poor working class backgrounds. At the time of the interviews, 10 subjects were married, three were in their second marriage, and two were divorced. Ten of the interviewees had had children while two were childless at the time of the interview.

The Eras of the Informants Lives

Within each adult life there are developmental stages and periods each having tasks to be accomplished. Major life tasks include choosing a career, entering adulthood, forming a dream, having a mentor, finding a niche in society, advancing a career, marriage and family, building a life structure, and becoming a senior member of society. All of these life tasks require negotiation of some kind, either formal or informal. Thus, this section will outline the lives of the 12 informants focusing on how each one negotiated the major tasks of adulthood.

Each case study was written following a specific format. The questions that were answered by each case study presentation came from adult development literature (Levinson et al., 1978; Levinson, 1980;

Neugarten, 1968; and Vaillant, 1977) and negotiated order literature (Charlton & Maines, 1980; Martin, 1976; and Strauss, 1978). (See Appendix B for Format for Presentation of Case Studies.) Case studies present an overview of the life of each participant highlighting early life, early career and professional work. Given the open-ended interview method, not all questions were fully answered by each informant as they had the freedom to respond in any way they chose. It is from this freedom of response that this method of research gains richness and variety.

La Actividad (activity)

La Actividad received her nickname as it symbolizes much of her adult life. From the beginnings of her college days, she found ways of becoming involved with the Chicano movement. As a college student she volunteered time to work with Upward Bound students; as a high school student she worked in the housing projects tutoring young children. Her love of students focused her career in education. After receiving her teaching credential, she continued for a master's degree in Urban Education. La Actividad reported taking part in the desegregation demonstrations in Southern California during the late 1960's and early 1970's.

After a sweep by the migra (immigration officials) took away the parents of many of her students, La Actividad decided that the most effective way she could change the educational plight of Hispanics was to get a doctorate and become an expert in the education of linguistically diverse children. The combination of these experiences in her early teaching career

are the how of La Actividad forming her dream.

La Actividad reports having a mentor where she took her doctorate--a professor who encouraged her dream and her attainment of high ideals. La Actividad spent four years teaching and doing evaluation projects. Then she had a chance to return to her doctoral alma mater as a professor. When asked why she returned to her alma mater, she replied:

> It was an intellectual challenge to be at the best school. The best school of education. Not so much because it was my alma mater, but at the time, when I returned, there was a very good program here in bilingual education and language and cultural diversity...a critical mass of faculty interested in this particular area....

As a junior member of the faculty La Actividad had her mentor from her student days to advise her. His death a few years ago and the departures of other colleagues has left her the only Hispanic in the school of education, overworked and without collegial support. At the time of the interview she was still in the early stages of her career--Assistant Professor with no tenure facing 27 doctoral advisees and one more year to produce what she needs to gain tenure at what she terms "a world class" institution.

La Actividad appears to make her career decisions based on what morally or ethically fits into her world view as opposed to making decisions based on traditional conceptions of middle-class upward mobility. For example, she values time given to her advisees over finishing the article that may help her achieve tenure. Thus with La Actividad it is safe to say that, at least thus far in her career, she values her commitment to Hispanics over her own personal career advancement. She lost her mentor early in her career, which has left her with "...no one who sees the value of my work."

As a result of all this, La Actividad has started the reevaluation process of her dream and her life structure which has left her in a very unfocused place at the time of the interview. When asked where she sees herself five years from now, she replied:

> Well, a variety of things--maybe a tenured professor at the School of Education, I may be working at a policy institute, a think tank (a RAND type of place). I may be in the State Department or in D.C. I may be raising a family, but that doesn't mean I wouldn't be doing all of the other things. And, I may be starting a school.

La Actividad's main strategy for negotiating a career is to follow her own moral convictions with the hope that she is talented enough to maintain a position as a "world class" scholar in education. She is very much aware that she has her current job because she is a Chicana. As she states: "I'm the only Chicana that they've nurtured." La Actividad, the youngest member of the sample, is not far enough into middle adulthood to ask the questions: "where am I now and what have I done?" Being in Levinson's settling down period, she is still in the process of developing and negotiating her dream and her life structure.

El Corázon (the heart)

There is not a more fitting descriptor of this informant than El Corázon as his heart encompasses his whole being. Coming through an early life of poverty, he was raised by his mother who primarily worked as a cook for farm labor camps or kept a boarding house and cantina (bar). El Corázon reports that the example his mother provided and her ability to "teach" was his major influence to choose teaching as a profession. This individual, like La Actividad, reports values and moral commitments as the guiding forces

for how decisions about his career have been made.

El Corázon's career path to his current position as Dean of Graduate Studies has been one strewn with battles, making his career a constant uphill climb. Upon graduation from college, El Corázon taught public school for several years. Of his elementary teaching years he says:

> I felt like I became pretty good at working with them [migrant children] and sort of bridging the gap between them and the schools. In fact, I was set up as a model teacher often, and I had student teachers placed in my class, always video taping me, having to do presentations at conferences, and things of that nature. Those were very satisfying years. What I was doing in class, as successful as it was, I was always running up against the structured inequality outside of class, so it just broke my heart to see these kids make gains and then go into an environment that would destroy all the gains they made. And until I could do a little more about what was going on outside the school, I began to get more and more frustrated.

Frustrated with the public schools, El Corázon decided he could have more impact if he went into higher education. He began his college teaching with a Master's degree and upon being hired he reports no one ever told him he had to finish a doctorate. He ended up filing three grievances against his institution for unfair practices regarding promotion and tenure denials. After ten years and three grievances which El Corázon won, and after the completion of most of his doctoral work, he realized there was no support left for him in his department. In other words, by fighting for his own rights he had burned most of his bridges in terms of building any kind of collegial support. Thus, when an opportunity came to gain another position, he took it.

El Corázon has found his niche in society. At age 42 he has a responsible, important position which he plans to keep for a while. He never found a mentor in his early career, but seems to have one now. Thus he fought battles he probably would not have fought had he had a mentor to help smooth his way. He started his career on time, and combined with some advantageous moves in the past two years, he is now in an excellent position for continued career advancement.

As one looks at the career path of El Corázon and asks if there are negotiation patterns in this person's life, the answer is yes. However, an external judgment on whether the negotiating pattern of this individual has been in his best career interests by traditional standards, is debatable. It is also probably fair to say that this person would not be where he is today had he not taken the career risks he did. Not only did he advance his career, he has been an exceptional role model for other Chicanos. Now with his doctorate and his administrative position it is quite likely that his negotiating strategies may change.

El Corázon, like La Actividad, is still building his life structure as in Levinson's midlife transition period. He is beginning the process of evaluating his adult life and making minor adjustments to solidify the structure he has built. Because of the commitment El Corázon has to improving education for Hispanics, it is doubtful that any major revision will take place in his life structure. This is one person who early in his life set values that he would live by and those same values continue to be prime motivating forces yet today.

El Dicho (clever with sayings and expressions)

Clever with sayings and expressions, El Dicho faces life with a sense of humor trying to straighten out an often confusing and contrary world. Raised in a stable family, El Dicho was the favored child of his mother, but not his father. In describing his relationship with his sister and father he states, "...she was the favorite of the man who ruled." El Dicho grew up feeling loyal to his mother but unable to make commitments or feel close with others. He reports never having a mentor because: "...being that private a person, I never really talked to anyone."

This has been El Dicho's pattern of negotiation. He has not developed close relationships with anyone, so he has trusted no one to assist him in his career. Negotiating a career when there is no one to check with to see if your decisions are right, means using oneself as the only source of information. This is a poor negotiating position. El Dicho clearly states that he is the only one who has made decisions about his life, in other words, mentoring has played a minor role in his life. After high school he went to college, but his parent's separation put him in a position of having to help support the family so he left the community college and went to work. Work in a hospital developed a desire to enter medicine, so El Dicho went back to school studying pre-medicine after family finances were taken care of. After completing his first two years, "...dear old Uncle Sam came and said take this gun and shove the pencil. So I was in the service for two years and when I came back, I guess the desire was gone." He returned to college and finally finished his B.A. at the age of 29. Upon graduation ne got a job as a counselor at a vocational training center. That lasted three years and then

he applied for his current position in Educational Opportunity Program and Services at a community college.

El Dicho has worked in his current position for 13 years (at the time of the interview). He does not talk about his life or his career in terms of dreams. He does not present himself in terms of wanting to attain goals--not in the sense of wanting to make education better or more accessible for Hispanics. He wants to be happy and to enjoy the effort he expends on a personal basis.

Entering middle adulthood, El Dicho is still trying to find his niche in the world. Thus far he has negotiated no upward or lateral movement in his work. He made an unsuccessful attempt at getting a doctorate and ended his first marriage of 13 years during this trying period. El Dicho has not developed a strong commitment to anything: his work, his people, or his personal life. He basically sits back and lets the world act on him. Thus, his has been a path of very passive negotiation, significant soul-searching, and little movement. In Levinson's terms, El Dicho built an unsatisfactory first adult life structure, and at 44, he is now trying to create a more satisfactory one during Levinson's midlife transition phase. He has touched the lives of many students he has come in contact with, but the students and his coworkers have not touched his life in any meaningful way.

El Ejemplar (the example)

El Ejemplar deliberately sets himself up as the example or model for his students. As a professor of education, he believes that:

> ...you have to be intrinsically motivated and it's hard

> to get kids to be intrinsically motivated so that I don't stand in their way....I am who I am whether they like me or not. I treat them as adults and I say what I'm thinking even if they don't understand what I'm saying....When I explain a hard explanation, I expect them to pick it up, if they don't, they can leave, but I'm very sympathetic towards it also.

El Ejemplar chose a career in education because, as he reported, it was the only middle class profession where he thought he could get a job outside of his home community. Growing up in a town which was 90% Hispanic, he had excellent role models: the police chief, the mayor, the school teachers, the school board were all Hispanic. This background also afforded El Ejemplar the advantage of not perceiving himself as a minority. As he grew up he internalized a tremendous amount of self-confidence and motivation. He learned the "rules of the game" as the players play it, not as an outsider looking in. Bright and willing to take chances, El Ejemplar was a high school teacher by age 21. He was given a scholarship to go to college, an assistantship to work on his master's degree, and an assistantship to work on his doctorate; he learned the education game well.

El Ejemplar's original dream was to become middle class. Once that was accomplished by becoming a teacher, he began modifying and expanding the dream, always willing to risk for the sake of a new challenge. The most interesting point about El Ejemplar is that as he says, he "thinks a lot of winning." He sees himself as a controversial person and uses that to accomplish his goals. He likes "power" and has learned to use and manipulate it. There is, however, one flaw in this pattern of self-confidence and power. There is an ethical side to El Ejemplar which he reported has prevented him from moving faster with his career:

> The thing that I think has hurt me the most was in my commitment to civil rights. If I wouldn't have stuck my two cents in there, getting involved, I'd be a lot further ahead. I don't know what I'd be, but I'd be some place very, very high. I feel that I have short-circuited a lot of my career because of my direct commitment to minority issues....I have to make a decision not to do that and get ahead, or to say to hell with getting ahead and I'll do what I think is right. So I've decided to do what is right.... You know what I'm saying, even though I've been that way, I've still managed to get ahead, but it's been a lot more difficult, a lot more difficult.

El Ejemplar has found his niche. He continues to negotiate for the cause and for himself in terms of career advancement. He is negotiating a second life structure which includes both of these parts. As a system-wise negotiator, El Ejemplar must walk a constant tight rope between being a cultural broker in Arvizu's (1984) terms and a systems broker for his own benefit. El Ejemplar, half way through his career, in Levinson's midlife transition phase, sees many alternatives ahead of him. He enjoys teaching, research, and administration. Chances are he will follow the path(s) which continue to present the best options for both his personal career and what he can accomplish on behalf of quality education for all Hispanics. As a self-appointed negotiator for the "cause", he will continue to make career decisions based on where he can practice commitment to both.

El Favor (the favor)

Favor, protection, support, countenance, help, describe the resounding characteristics of El Favor. As an adolescent, he describes himself as having led three lives: that of the "good student", the "athlete", and "one of the guys". While not a forceful person, El Favor stands ready to help those who ask him. As a good athlete and student, he went through

high school assuming he was doing everything he needed to do to go to college. The last two weeks of his senior year, when friends were talking about being accepted to this or that school, El Favor discovered that the college counselor had not called him in to discuss college and the application process. With this gatekeeping experience he turned to military service. Putting in four years, he entered the electronics field and found himself the only Chicano in that field in the service.

His early career dream was to become a probation officer, so when he left the Navy, he attended a community college. After his first year, he married and took a job on an assembly line. By the following September the Cuban crisis had erupted and he was called back to active duty. Released from the service for a second time, he returned to the assembly line to support his now growing family. After five years he realized he wanted more out of his life--he wanted "to show my daughter that I could make it and that I would be a good role model for her." He returned to college, finished his sophomore year, remarried, and he and his new wife joined VISTA. Through the VISTA experience he discovered he really enjoyed teaching. When he left VISTA, he returned to college and finished his bachelor's degree. Back in college during the late 1960's, he became engulfed in the Chicano movement. He became active in issues such as the need for bilingual education, educational opportunity programs for Chicanos, and ethnic studies.

The dream refocused from wanting to work with people who were incarcerated, to working with students who still had a chance. Upon graduation he pursued a master's degree in Chicano studies and returned

to his undergraduate institution to teach. El Favor has taught Chicano studies now for 14 years. He negotiated career changes from military service to assembly line worker to VISTA volunteer to professor. He was an athlete and an activist. Entering middle adulthood, he is now reevaluating his dream. He has not yet attained the rank of full professor as he only has a master's degree. He is facing the possibility of being turned down for promotion and remaining an Associate Professor for the rest of his teaching career, or making a lateral move into student services. At present he is wrestling with these options and evaluating possible outcomes of his decision.

El Favor has had no difficult negotiations to this point in his life (ones where he had to risk his career) and his negotiating strategy will need to change if he goes for full professor. What will be his decision remains to be seen. El Favor is aware that he is where he is because he is Chicano, but it is a fact he does not like to admit. The difficult question remains for him--of what value is my life to society, to other people, and to myself? This is a question El Favor must resolve in the next few years during the entering middle adulthood phase of his career.

El Barbero (the barber)

El Barbero received his nickname because he presents himself as a simple person, content with his work and his station in life. During the interview he voiced no aspirations beyond what he is currently doing. Thus he reminded this interviewer of a barber who is content with a placid existence. Much more so than any other person in this sample, El Barbero's

career path has followed a "traditional" course of many who become professors. Upon high school graduation, he moved straight into college. Except for one year he took off during his undergraduate studies, to "mentally regroup," El Barbero went straight through to his Ph.D. Since receiving his doctorate he has taught at the same institution for the past 12 years with no plans at this point of going else.

Not only did El Barbero take a straight and narrow path in attaining his career goal, he also chose a very non-traditional field for a Hispanic. When asked how he chose math, he reported that he began college as a liberal studies major. During his junior year, he discovered he could major in mathematics and did so. El Barbero reports having a laissez faire attitude about how things happen. His style for negotiating a career is easily termed passive. He stated:

> Well, I find that if you really want something you'll probably never get it and if you just sit back and let it happen, it happens. If it doesn't, it probably wasn't meant for you. So pretty much everything I have wanted to happen has happened, so.... there's not much out there that I'm after.

El Barbaro seems to have found his niche with minimal struggle. He reports having had no significant mentor, only encouraging teachers along the way. When asked about being a Chicano in a predominantly Anglo field, he stated:

> ...When I was going to regular school, high school and stuff, I would look out and always see white faces. I've never seen brown faces so it never bothered me....I never thought about it or anything else. I've seen this before and it was the same old stuff.

El Barbero voices no commitment to the Chicano movement or any underlying desire to assist Hispanics. During the interview he even appeared to be unaware whether he had many Hispanic students in his classes:

> I think there are more women. I notice them more in courses. It used to be in the calculus courses you were probably lucky if you got one. But no there may be, out of 32, there will be 10 so there is a marked difference. And there seem to be more at least Mexican-looking people, I don't know if they are Indian--you can't tell....But gee, I think there has been a change at least in that area, more minorities, more women, seem to be more Mexicans coming, at least I noticed in some of my classes.

Chances are that El Barbero would be where he is today whether he were Hispanic or not. His ethnic identity appears to be a very minor part of his total existence. He has a job, he puts his time in and he goes home. He voices no dreams. At 40, he is entering the transition period into middle adulthood. An interesting question about El Barbero is whether he will begin the retrospective process as he enters the mid-life transition phase of adult development?

El Gerente (the boss)

The boss is an appropriate nickname for this individual as he presents a consistent pattern of taking charge, of taking responsibility throughout his life. The eldest of five, El Gerente illustrates his leadership role in the family by describing an incident when he was in college about his younger brother who was a college freshman. His brother was having a good time but flunking most of his classes. El Gerente stated that when he

heard what his brother was doing, he went to visit him, "packed him up" and took him to the school El Gerente was attending. There he negotiated a probationary admission for him, and after that, he reports his brother did fine. It is interesting to note that all five children in this family went into education as a profession.

El Gerente reports being heavily influenced by the ambience of the 1960's civil rights and the "plight of the disadvantaged." In settling on using education as a way to get involved and do something to help, El Gerente zig-zagged through the first ten years of his career, following any path that was interesting and challenging. He began as a school administrator, taught public school, went into the service, went back to teaching, obtained his master's degree, started a doctoral program and then went into the foreign service for a few years. At the end of this period he finally ended up teaching at a university. From this scattered beginning, El Gerente settled into a much more traditional career ladder progression. From professor he moved to department chair, to assistant dean, to vice president for academic affairs and on to a top administrative position.

El Gerente appears to have found his niche with very little struggle on his part. His style of negotiation is to be the leader of a team. As he stated:

> of trying to work with the situation, map a direction, with the full involvement and collaboration of the people that you're working with, and then working like all get out to begin pushing on the kinds of things that need to be pushed in order to get movement in an effort to achieve the various targets that one sets for oneself, and for one's institution.

He possesses a clear recognition that being a member of an ethnic minority has assisted him in getting the positions he has had over the years. He

relates that there have been some clear struggles, but his personal philosophy has been that because of this ethnicity, he has had to work harder than most, and that this hard work has prepared him well. He presents himself as an optimist who is well grounded in reality.

There is an interesting complexity to El Gerente. While he fights terribly hard not to be labeled or to be seen as part of a generalization, he uses many generalizations himself such as:

> ...what I would call not an unusual situation of having a father who's quite proud of his oldest son, and all that entails in the Mexican American family.
>
> ...a mother's place in the Mexican American home is always a bit special and different.
>
> ...but I think it's all part and parcel of what American society is all about. So you take the pluses and minuses and adjust accordingly.

When asked what made some individuals successful administrators and others not, El Gerente first said: "I don't know the answer to the question," and later finished his response by stating that four characteristics are very important: (1) social intelligence (political savvy), (2) interest or concern with your position, (3) interpersonal skills, and (4) personality--how you present yourself to others.

El Gerente has tremendous skill with words which has helped him arrive where he is. His style of fighting inequality is primarily two pronged: adapt instead of fight and soft push instead of hard sell. It is very likely that when this hard working, high achieving college administrator takes stock of his life, he will have many ways of counting how his life has had value to society. He knows where he is and what he has accomplished, yet he

refuses to acknowledge that he knows where he is going during his entering middle adulthood phase of development. Even at his level of accomplishment he voices that he has not planned his career--it has just happened with some skill and some luck.

La Historia (the story)

La Historia was given this nickname as her interview reminded this interviewer of listening to a good story. In contrast to La Actividad whose, career path was straight and unhindered by husband or children, La Historia had a much more typical "female" career path. She started college at age 27 already having three children. She attained her A.A. degree in eight years while adding two more children to her family. Of her undergraduate schooling she stated: "I tried to use my education for the benefit of my family so that I didn't separate out my family from what I was doing at the time...." When asked how she chose education as a career, La Historia said it was a practical kind of decision. She wanted a career where she could still spend a lot of time with her children and teaching seemed a good answer to that problem. She also relayed that had she had the freedom to choose any career she wanted, her choice would have been law.

La Historia is a prime example of the balancing act that women who choose a career and family face. She stated: "...even today I find that I have to balance my love and desire to write and publish and do research and those kinds of things with my family and with having that, I can't give myself entirely to one thing. I have to piece it out." Throughout the interview she voiced this push and pull feeling about her roles as a professional person,

wife and mother. She still seems to be searching for some way to mesh them.

For La Historia, her dream of what she could accomplish in her career has evolved very slowly. Most individuals strike out in a career path from their dream of early adulthood. La Historia started forming her dream at age 35 to go into education. After her sixth child and completion of her master's degree, she made the decision to pursue the doctorate. Her entry into her current institution also took time and a variety of moves to accomplish. She began as an adjunct professor teaching one course a semester while teaching in the public schools during the day. When they asked her to teach three classes a semester, she said the only way she would, was if they gave her a full-time contract. So she taught La Raza studies about ten years, taking off two years to do the coursework for the doctorate.

La Historia's mentor has been a college professor with whom she became very close while working on her doctorate. La Historia began to share some of her mentor's dreams about changes in education, especially with regard to teacher training. Finishing her doctorate was her major goal. La Historia reports she was so "burned out" when she finished her dissertation that for two years she didn't even think about what her next step would be. She is just now (five years later) beginning to make decisions about what she wants to accomplish with the remainder of her career. Within education, La Historia has probably not yet found her niche which makes her a very late starter in career terms. She is currently struggling with building her second adult life structure in Levinson's terms so is at a transition point. She is also viewed as an unorthodox academic by her

peers. Very involved in community affairs, she does not hesitate to speak out on issues she feels strongly about. Thus, she is sometimes viewed as marginal by her colleagues.

La Historia has no set pattern of negotiating her career. She has done things when she has been able to, juggling career, family, and community commitments. Of her negotiating strategies she states: "I don't step on people. I don't hurt people. I'm careful with their feelings and I like to be polite but I have to speak out on certain issues and I do...." She also says of herself: "I'm strong...forceful and pushy in some ways." These ways of describing her negotiating style highlight very effectively the two strong thrusts in La Historia's life: the mother--caring and careful; and the career person--strong and forceful.

At her institution, La Historia has been rather marginal for some time. Spending ten years teaching La Raza studies and then four more years directing the bilingual teacher training program she is aware that she has remained in peripheral kinds of positions. The past two years she has supervised student teachers. Now she is looking forward to a year's sabbatical. During this time she is hoping to find her niche at the university and to build her expertise in an area agreeable both to herself and her institution. La Historia is aware that her first 14 years at the university were mostly a result of her ethnicity. Her ability to make a contribution to teaching will keep her at the university.

La Historia was at an interesting place at the time of the interview, for she more than any other informant in the sample, was really grappling with the important questions of middle adulthood and asking the appropriate

questions for Levinson's Age 50 transition phase. La Historia knows where she is and what she has done. She has found value in what she has given to her family and others. What she is searching for at this point is the third part of the question, of what value is my life to myself.

El Impresor (the printer)

The printer in a print shop has a difficult and tedious job of making sure the type is set correctly. The printer does not experience the prestige of the editor nor the creativity of the layout artist. El Impresor reminds this researcher of a printer who carries out his tedious tasks with dedication and precision. Taking all the coursework for the doctorate but not finishing the dissertation, he remains a master's level administrator knowing that at age 51, he will rise no higher on the administrative ladder. He seems to cope with this knowledge by being as meticulous as the printer about making sure his job is done correctly.

As the baby in a blended family, El Impresor felt somewhat estranged from his brothers and sister during their growing up years. He joined the service for four years as an alternative to a strained family situation. The military experience served as a motivator for going on to college. As he related the memory: "...The realization that I had some intelligence and something else was possible hit me as soon as I saw test results and people started saying that relatively speaking you've done very, very well. Coming from a family where none of his siblings even finished high school, going to college seemed an unbelievable task. Completing his B.A. , he proceeded directly into his doctoral studies. Upon completion of coursework he was

offered a college teaching post and reported he "just never got around to resolving the dissertation."

After a brief teaching experience, El Impresor joined the Peace Corp which led to a short stint with the Organization of American States. From there he was recruited to his present institution where he has been for the past 15 years. Within the institution, he has had several teaching and administrative assignments which have culminated now with the knowledge he will go back to the classroom or get out of education. Like La Historia, El Impresor's midlife transition is marked with decisions about finding his niche in his career. Trying to make a decision by watching the "handwriting on the wall" and internally seeking to maintain a career inclusive of diversified interests, El Impresor is playing his career life very conservatively at the present time.

Aware from elementary school that being Hispanic made him different, he has developed a subtle yet forceful way of dealing with other Mexican Americans. His career focus has always remained on Hispanics--whether working in a Latin country, teaching ethnic studies, or reminding other administrators that minority issues are important and should be given the same consideration as other programs or projects.

Having little mentoring has probably contributed to stopping El Impresor from reaching higher goals. Early adulthood dreams turned out not as fulfilling as he had anticipated. At this stage of his life, El Impresor possesses a realistic view of himself and his options. Plans for the future are not dreams anymore but practical evaluations of what options remain. Talking with El Impresor one comes away with the impression of a man who

could have been great but didn't get the right breaks or have the "luck" of which El Gerente spoke. With a negotiating style not forceful enough or leader-oriented enough, El Impresor has settled into an acceptance of self in middle age. He remains an interesting mixture of resignation and hope. Resigned to his current options, he will continue to pursue a career path peripherally focused on Hispanics.

El Impresor is currently building and evaluating his second life structure during the Age 50 transition phase of adult development. He knows where he is and what he has done. He appears to be struggling with the questions of what value his life is to society, other persons, and himself.

El Jugador (the player)

El Jugador has not always won the bureaucratic game, but this nickname characterizes his persistence and willingness to continue trying despite many barriers he poses to himself. Early experiences set the stage for this person's primary responses to life. A middle child of 12, El Jugador found a circle of friends in Boy Scouts. He reports that identifying with scouting was easy for him as it represented the same set of values taught in his home. Scouting remains a major influence in his adult life.

A second major influence in his life is his "fastidious" nature. Everything in his life is well groomed, organized, in it's place--a characteristic which has produced some inflexibility. Thus, adolescent and early adult experiences of discrimination have been difficult for El Jugador to incorporate creatively into his career.

As a result of these two dominant characteristics, El Jugador has tried

to be more Anglo than the Anglos. In high school he decided he wanted to go to college, but he couldn't afford it. Working in the fields after high school graduation, a friend who was pruning trees with him said, "Let's go to the junior college." College initially was difficult for El Jugador, but personal persistence saw him through. He finally obtained his teaching credential, but was turned down for many jobs. After more than a year of looking, he finally found a long-term substitute position, impressed his principal with how well he related to students, and was given a contract for the following year. These early experiences, however, planted a seed in his head "...that said to me that I'm going to be the most qualified individual going for a job for the rest of my life one way or the other."

The years passed and he paid his dues as a teacher, assistant principal, and principal. During this time he taught night classes at the local community college and when an opening finally came up, he applied and eventually obtained it. About the same time he started work on his doctorate. Four years ago he ran for public office and didn't succeed because of people he had "stepped on" in the past, according to El Jugador.

El Jugador's style of negotiation seems to be one of honesty (scouting values), but also of one-upsmanship. At 52, he states he had a dream which in reality now will not be realized. This produces a sense of bitterness and defeatism which continue to color his world view. When asked where he sees himself in five years, he replied: "I see myself possibly as an associate dean and if everything works out, maybe as a dean, no higher because I don't have anyone up there pulling for me."

The lack of a mentor in El Jugador's life has placed a burden on him

which he does not wish to carry. One of the tragedies of human life is dreams people cannot realize and a resultant defeatist attitude they develop to compensate for not "making it." He voiced as a prime motivating factor: "I wanted to do something not only for myself, but for some of the 'poor Mexicans' in the area who are always looked down upon."

El Judagor has found his niche in his career, but he does not appear happy with where it has placed him or how it has limited him. The dream for his career has developed slowly. As he learned more about the world of education and what he could become, he also learned the reality of discrimination as he watched doors close. As a result of his inflexibility, he has not changed his strategies of negotiating and appears stymied.

El Jugador is grappling with the answers to the questions of where am I, and what have I done during his Age 50 transition phase. He looks back with pride at his many accomplishments but finds little value in them when compared with what he would like to have accomplished. El Jugador's second life structure may be marred by his non-accomplishment of his dream, his battles with discrimination, and his inability to turn his bitterness into creative energy. All of this combined with the middle class values of hard work, honesty, and loyalty make El Jugador a player to the end.

El Leon (the lion)

The lion is cunning and smart, strong and courageous, yet belongs to the feline family to which we attribute such characteristics as softness and independence. This describes El Leon. He is cunning and smart--as he

plays the institutional bureaucratic game with great skill. He is courageous and strong in character. He is loyal to his family, profession, and institution, and has a soft spot in his heart for "his people".

The eldest of 12 children, El Leon joined the Air Force at age 16, after dropping out of school in the sixth grade to help feed the family when there was no work in the fields. Told that he was too dumb to be anything but a firefighter in the service, El Leon used his "street smarts" to maximize his 21 year military career. Using his time productively, he advanced from Airman to the second highest rank of non-commissioned officer. He also educated himself through high school and college and left the military with a master's degree.

The civil rights movement of the 60's had a tremendous impact on him as he chose to dedicated himself to the plight of the Hispanic. Active in the Chicano movement, he focused his teaching skills on improving educational opportunities for Mexican Americans. At 46, he completed his doctorate and embarked on a second career as a college professor. El Leon's turbulent times came in his late 30's and early 40's as he evaluated his first adult life structure and decided there were many ways to change "the system". Following the climate in the country, he was involved in some of the radical changes of the Vietnam era. Upon completion of his doctorate, he focused his energies on changing "the system" from within and developed his second career.

El Leon has not found the life of a professor easy. He reports there have been constant battles for acceptance of his discipline by his colleagues as well as continual fights for promotion and tenure. Holding dear his belief

in the equality of all human beings, he occasionally gets upset with the slow pace of progress and the lack of clarity in seeing goals accomplished.

El Leon has found his niche. He reported that his job is his hobby and that he finds much enjoyment in working and being productive. His style of negotiation is that of a master game player. He relayed that as a minority member growing up in the U.S., one must learn to perceive the situation with a "sixth sense." This allows him to plan moves "two steps" ahead of the next person. El Leon views this as professional survival. Another strategy used in negotiating for El Leon has been his approach of assuming he won't get what he is seeking. From this stance he finds the courage or brashness to be assertive and straight in his dealings with others. El Leon is an example of one who has adopted negotiating strategies to fit each situation he faces, especially the context of the situation.

The one person El Leon views as a mentor came early in his life. This mentor did not help during the professional career stages of development, but taught a young soldier (El Leon) the basic values of adulthood. This mentoring relationship helped El Leon plant his feet firmly on the ground and has allowed him to make great personal gains.

At age 54, El Leon has asked the questions appropriate of Levinson's Age 50 transition phase. He seems content with knowing his accomplishments have been significant in many areas. But when he faces the question of what value his life has had for others and society, he looks around and sees so much yet to be accomplished, that he reports he is not yet satisfied.

El Leon has changed his dream with each new stage of life. His first

dream was to drive a tractor instead of doing stoop labor. Then he wanted to be an agricultural mechanic--high status for a farm laborer. In the military there were no clear-cut goals, but a series of opportunities that El Leon took advantage of as they arose. When he retired from the military, his dream was the doctorate, to be a model for Hispanics. El Leon reported he is still not satisfied. He stated he still would like to become a college administrator--a place from which he could make policy changes, changes which would alter and improve the "system."

El Maestro (the teacher)

The teacher or professor, El Maestro views his 350 students as his family with himself in the father role. At the age of two, his family was deported to Mexico. Thus his early childhood was spent as a migrant in Mexico and his father moved from place to place in search of work to support the family. Being the eldest boy in the family, his mother always encouraged him to educate himself fearing if his father left, El Maestro would be forced to support the family.

El Maestro was lucky. His father did not leave the family and he was able to finish his schooling and go on to college. Coming back to the U.S. as a legal immigrant when he was 12, El Maestro developed a theory about the best time to learn a second language:

> When you're first born you have to communicate with whomever keeps you and the second time when you have a great need for language is when you're in puberty. When you begin to see the opposite sex, you learn whatever you need to learn to talk to them.

So El Maestro mastered English quickly and became president of his junior high school student body. His leadership abilities were established early.

His first dream, however, was of becoming a banker. This dream lasted through his B.A. degree and when he went seeking a job in commerce and found out that the pay was low, he returned to school and obtained a teaching credential. However, he also found out quickly that a Chicano in the 1950's could not get a job teaching Spanish. After five years of driving a truck, he stumbled into a teaching job in an isolated part of the country. This job gave him experience at all levels of public school teaching and administration. From there he moved to teaching at a community college. In this job, he was asked to consult with public school teachers, who were having difficulty teaching Spanish dominant children. About the same time, El Maestro decided to get his doctorate and make some impact on changing the educational system. Of this experience he states: "I spent eight years of my life single, divorced, dedicating 100% of my time to those people who were bilingual. Maybe the children too, but mostly adults, teacher aides, parents, helping teacher aides become teachers."

Arriving at his present institution ten years ago, El Maestro continues to dedicate his professional life to the training and advancement of Hispanics in education. He has found his niche--as he states: "They're paying me to do the things I would have done anyway." His mentor helped during the days when he was seeking his Ph.D. He provided encouragement and the ideals to follow what you believe in and to work toward those goals.

At age 56, El Maestro is in the culmination of middle adulthood phase

and stated that he has accomplished his goals. He sees many of the things he has done as significant contributions to his field and he has touched the lives of many. This is one person who has entered middle adulthood, asked the questions of what value his life has had and is happy and content with the answers. Like all the others in this study, El Maestro has not planned his career but has taken advantage of opportunities as they have arisen.

His negotiating style is interesting. Of himself, he reports that tenure and promotions throughout his career have come on time and without significant battles (unlike many in the sample). However, because of his commitment to the betterment of Hispanics, he has fought many battles as a negotiator for others. He views himself as a spokesperson for Chicanos and does not hesitate to take whatever action may be necessary to accomplish goals. He is both a community organizer and a pusher from within the system. At this point in time El Maestro appears content. He has many accomplishments of which he is proud. He is a senior member of his profession, he enjoys his work without wanting to become an administrator, he has a platform from which to speak when he sees inequities and he has his family--350 students whom he nurtures, encourages, and from whom he takes pride in their accomplishments.

Demographics of the Twelve

One of the theoretical frameworks of this study is adult development inclusive of the tasks accomplished during each stage. The following four tables present both demographic data about each informant, and also set the stage for the examination of the career development of each sample

member. Tables 1 through 4 present general demographic and factual data about the members of the sample to make comparisons on general characteristics easier. It is also helpful to see the beginnings of patterns emerging in the group. Each table is briefly highlighted suggesting important trends in the lives and career paths of the participants under study.

Table 1. Table 1 compares some key factors contributing to whether the individuals started their present careers in education early or late compared to society-at-large. Many educators at the college level start careers in education as teachers and/or administrators in the public schools.

Table 1 On-Time Career vs. Late Starters

	Age at Career Interview	Age Entered Education as a Profession	Age Acquired Most Recent Degree		Degree Regular vs. Late
La Actividad*	36	23	late 20's	Dr.	Regular
El Barbero	40	28	late 20's	Dr.	Regular
El Corázon*	42	23	early 40's	Dr.	Late
El Dicho	44	32	late 30's	M.A.	Late
El Ejemplar*	44	21	early 30's	Dr.	Regular
El Favor	45	32	early 30's	M.A.	Late
El Gerente*	45	22	middle 30's	Dr.	Regular
La Historia*	50	40	middle 40's	Dr.	Late
El Impresor	51	28	late 20's	M.A.	Regular
El Jugador*	52	25	late 40's	Dr.	Regular
El Leon	53	46	middle 40's	Dr.	Late
El Maestro*	56	30	early 40's	Dr.	Late

*Began career in education in the public schools.

The first column lists the age of each informant at the time of the interview. The second column lists the approximate ages of the informants when they began careers in education. Those informants with more than four or five years disparity between the age they entered education and the age they acquired their most recent degree, typically spent some time teaching in the public schools before finishing advanced degrees and working at the college level.

Only one of the informants went directly from high school through a doctoral program and into work at the college level. All the others either began work in the public schools and then returned to college for an advanced degree, or entered some occupation other than education and made significant career shifts into education. The last column indicates whether the individual started his/her present career (not a career in education in general) on time or late when compared to general career progressions.

Table 2. Influential Childhood and Adolescent Factors

	Migrant vs. Stable	Mother Home vs. Mother Worked	Language Dominance of Chiildhood	Military Service
La Actividad	Stable	Worked	Spanish	no
El Barbero	Stable	Home	English	no
El Corázon	Migrant	Worked	Spanish	no
El Dicho	Stable	Home	Spanish	yes
El Ejemplar	Stable	Home	Spanish	yes
El Favor	Stable	Worked	English	yes
El Gerente	Stable	Worked	Bilingual	yes
La Historia	Stable	Worked	Spanish	no
El Impresor	Stable	Worked	Spanish	yes
El Jugador	Migrant	Home	English	no
El Leon	Migrant	Worked	Spanish	yes
El Maestro	Migrant	Home	Spanish	no

Table 2. Table 2 contains examples of four childhood and adolescent experiences of the informants. Column 1 indicates whether, as a child , the

informant moved often because of the need of the mother or father to find work. The term stable means the family spent long periods of time in one location. For two subjects identified as having stable backgrounds, the families did practice farmwork as an occupation. For one of the informants identified as migrant, the family did not migrate for farmwork, but for any other kind of work the father could find. It is interesting to note that of the four individuals identified as coming from migrant backgrounds, none of the four obtained their doctorate until they were in their 40s. This relationship is not exact however, as two other informants also got their terminal degrees late, and did not come from migrant backgrounds.

Column 2, Table 2 indicates whether the mother worked outside the home during the informant's childhood. The sample shows five of the 12 mothers not working outside the home. The third column states the language dominance of childhood for each of the informants. Three of the informants were English dominant (learned English in the home), one reports being bilingual all his life, and the remaining eight participants were Spanish dominant when they started school. The fourth column indicates those individuals who served in the military with one of those six staying in 21 years, retiring from military service, and then entering education as a career. For the two female informants, neither one served in the military.

Table 3. Family Influences on Childhood Experiences

	Favored Child	Parents Encouraged Education	Dual Parent Family	Place in Sibling Hierarchy
La Actividad	yes	to H.S.	yes	oldest of 2
El Barbero	no	"do what you want	yes	5th of 11
El Corázon	yes	no	no	youngest of 6
El Dicho	yes	to H.S.	yes	youngest of 2
El Ejemplar	no	no	no	4th of 6
El Favor	yes	through college	yes	youngest of 2
El Gerente	yes	through college	yes	oldest of 5
La Historia	yes	to H.S.	no	oldest of 2
El Impresor	yes	no	yes	youngest of 6
El Jugador	no	to H.S.	yes	7th of 12
El Leon	yes	no	yes	oldest of 12
El Maestro	yes	to college	yes	2nd of 4

Table 3. Table 3 depicts family influences on the subjects. Column

one indicates those who perceived themselves as having been the favored child in the family. Of the three informants who reported not being the favored child in the family, all three eventually obtained doctorates. Column two shows whether the parents encouraged the informant's education. Three of the informants thought their parents sincerely encouraged education–as far as they wanted to go. Four of the participants had parent(s) who encouraged a high school education. Four subjects indicated their families were really unconcerned with what they did with their education. One informant indicated that his parents had taken a neutral position, letting him do what he wanted to do.

Column three shows that three informants came from single parent families. Column four indicates each subject's place in the sibling hierarchy. Four informants were oldest children, four were youngest children and four were in the middle of their siblings. Sibling position may have had some influence on high achievement as three of the four informants who were the youngest in their family stopped at the M.A. level, while all the middle and oldest children completed doctorates.

Table 4. Career Aspiration Compared with How and If Dream Has Been Realized

	Aspiration Level	Risk vs. No Risk Career	Dream Focus Personal vs. Social	Still Has Dream
La Actividad	Very High	Risk	Social	Yes
El Barbero	Medium	No Risk	Personal	No
El Corázon	High	Risk	Social	Yes
El Dicho	Medium	No	Personal	No
El Ejemplar	Very High	Risk	Social	Yes
El Favor	Medium	No	Social	No
El Gerente	Very High	Risk	Social	Yes
La Historia	High	Risk	Personal	Yes
El Impresor	High	No	Personal	No
El Jugador	High	No	Personal	No
El Leon	High	Risk	Social	Yes
El Maestro	High	Risk	Social	No

Table 4. Table 4 compares four typical characteristics of careers.

Column 1 ranks the informant's aspiration level from medium to very high. Aspirational level here is defined as anything beyond a public school teaching position and is interpreted to mean high or very high need for level of attainment. Column two indicates whether the individuals have taken risks in their careers either for the purpose of advancement or social change. Seven members of the sample indicated they have taken risks with their careers to get to where they are at this point, while five informants have favored rather conservative strategies in traversing their career paths.

Column three shows whether the informant's life dream had a more social or personal focus to it. On this indicator the group was split with seven stating that their prime dream had a social focus to it, while five suggested that their prime dream was of a more personal nature. Column four indicates whether the life dream is still alive. By their reports, for half of the sample the dream is alive, and for the other half, they have either reached it or given it up.

Emergent Themes

Despite the variety in the sample's lives, there are several common issues all subjects confronted. The way in which they resolved these issues affected how they negotiated their careers. The equalizing force in the sample is that all the informants started from poor, uneducated backgrounds. None of the participants came from families where anyone before them had been to college. Most of their parents did not graduate from high school, and all were blue-collar workers or laborers. Most of the sample were Spanish language dominant when they entered school as children.

None of these individuals had anyone walk them through their undergraduate studies, thus there was a significant amount of struggle for all of these informants to reach their level of professional attainment. This is an outstanding accomplishment in itself and a prime example of the level of motivation and of the aspirations of the individuals studied. The implication of the upward mobility of the participants is a major point which will be examined in greater detail in subsequent chapters. Several sub-issues will be discussed as they relate to the main theoretical framework of the study. Emergent themes will be discussed briefly in the remainder of this chapter including: Chicano issues, family support for education, immigrant family aspirations, mobility, language dominance, and discrimination experiences as they relate to adult development, how careers are negotiated, and mobility aspirations.

Chicano Issues. The first of these is the individual's commitment to Chicano issues or the improvement of educational opportunities for Hispanics. Nine of the 12 interviewed claimed to be very concerned with Chicano issues at this point in their careers. Seven of the nine reported being touched deeply by the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's. For these seven, their awareness of themselves as Hispanics was a prime motivating factor in pursuing education as a profession. The age of the informants during the 1960's apparently had no effect on the depth of influence the civil rights movement produced. For example, La Actividad was in high school and college during the l960's; El Leon was a Senior Master Sergeant in the Air Force; El Maestro had just returned to college to work on his doctorate at the age of 40; and El Favor had spent five years on an assembly line and

then made a radical move into the Peace Corps. All of these individuals were at different stages in the life cycle and had differing personal situations (i.e., family and/or marriages); yet they all came through this period in history with a new goal or commitment to themselves and to other Hispanics. The events of the 1960's were so powerful that they profoundly affected the interviewees no matter their developmental stage at the time. The movement provided or embedded a set of moral values and principles which undergirded how this group dealt with its career development and work process.

Of the group of seven who openly discussed the impact the social movements of the 1960's had on them, three other factors were also common for these individuals: (a) All seven worked at four year educational institutions. (b) All seven had acted as self-appointed spokespersons for Hispanic issues at points in their professional lives because of their commitment. (c) For five of these seven individuals, moral commitment to Chicano issues established certain patterns in how they subsequently negotiated their careers. Five of these seven focused their careers either in the education of linguistically different children, or in ethnic studies. The choices of these careers kept these individuals working on the "front lines", forcing them to deal with themselves as Hispanics on a day-to-day basis. Thus, their personal and professional commitment has been kept alive.

Familial Support for Education. A second, rather contradictory pattern in the sample is that for such a high achieving group (nine doctorates and three masters) only three informants reported that their parents were really supportive of education through college. Four of the interviewees reported

no familial support for education and four reported encouragement only to finish high school. El Barbero reported his family's only comment regarding education was "do what you want." These familial attitudes regarding education stem from several sources common to working class people: (a) parents' own lack of education, (b) parents' lack of knowledge regarding how one gets through the educational system, and (c) lack of value placed on education.

Sociological literature substantiates a relationship between the size of family and encouragement of education. The basic principle that the smaller the size of family the more time parents spend with their children and become involved in their lives appears to hold true with this sample (Logan & O'Hearn, 1982). The three informants who reported parents being exceptionally encouraging of educational attainment, came from families of two, three, and five children respectively. For this study a small family is defined as ranging from one to five children. A large family is considered to be six or more children. The four informants who reported no familial support for education and the non-committal attitude found with El Barbero's parents, all came from families of six or more siblings.

Integrating the family support issue with the participants' involvement in Chicano issues, it is interesting to note that six of the seven significantly impacted by the 1960's also perceived themselves as "favored" children. Six of these same seven were also Spanish dominant or bilingual as children. A pattern emerges which suggests that favored children who were raised Spanish dominant or bilingual were more profoundly affected by the civil rights movement than others who did not have these same background

experiences. Familial support for education does not appear to have had a significant impact on commitment to social issues.

Family upbringing and experiences affected this sample in several ways. Nine of the 12 participants perceived themselves as favored children. This is a typical status given to the oldest male child in a Mexican American family. This position in the family was true for five of the nine favored children. The two women in the sample were "favored" children because both were the oldest of two girls in each of their families. The remaining two favored children were both the youngest of six children, born later in the mother's life. Thus, both were given a significant amount of attention as they grew up by both the parent(s) and older siblings.

Aspirations of an Immigrant Family. As is true in many immigrant families, the parents often internalize a very strong desire for their children to "take advantage of the opportunity afforded in the new country," thus pushing their children to accomplish as much as possible. The Kennedy family of Massachusetts portrays this desire where all children were encouraged to be high achievers. El Gerente's family resembles the Kennedy family in this important area of an immigrant family whose children were encouraged to achieve at the highest level possible. All five children in El Gerente's family went into education, two obtained doctorates and became professors, and the other three work in the public schools. El Gerente stated that he played a major role as the eldest child by going to college, and pulling his siblings up behind him as did John F. Kennedy after his brother Joseph was killed in WWII. With El Gerente as the exception, few of the siblings of other favored children in this sample have subsequently

gone on to college.

The three informants who were not favored children all went on to finish their doctorates. All were very assimilationist in their desire to achieve, and all were middle children from large families. Two of these individuals have remained basically uninvoived in Chicano issues while one has been highly involved.

Mobility. One of the selection criteria for the sample was the obvious upward mobility pattern of the participants' based on their parents' occupation. All members of the sample came from working class or poverty backgrounds. Even for those whose parental encouragement ended early, mobility was internalized as a value which carried the sample through to their current levels of achievement. The migrant or stable background of the informants seems to have had minimal impact on achievement. It is interesting to note that the four interviewees who identified their childhood as migrant (moving from place-to-place) all eventually received doctorates. The three master's level informants all came from "stable" backgrounds.

Language dominance and racism. One of the primary effects language dominance appears to have had on the sample is its assimilationist impact. The three who were raised English dominant are the same three who have assimilated the most into Anglo values, customs, and patterns. All valued education as a way to "make it." All had minimal childhood racial experiences, so assumed there was no difference between themselves and their friends. Of these three who were raised English dominant, the fathers in two families were blue-collar workers and the third father worked in farm labor. Two of these three were also middle children of

large families and were not the favored child. It appears that English dominance in childhood has led to fewer early prejudicial experiences and a more assimilationist career path.

The Spanish dominant part of the sample demonstrate two other possible major influences in growing up. One group, consisting of those raised predominantly outside of California had few childhood prejudicial experiences, although one encountered significant racial prejudice as a child. Those raised in California experienced a wide variety of discriminatory experiences. Of the eight in this sample who have spent a significant part of their professional lives involved in Chicano issues, seven of those were raised Spanish dominant. Speaking Spanish in school produced bad experiences for four of the eight in this group. These four stated that early negative experiences later influenced their commitment to changing the educational system to become more receptive to and accepting of ethnically diverse children.

Racism--Fight, Adaptation, or Acceptance

The experience of discrimination or racism is not new. It has, however, changed over the years. The kinds of racism that Mexican Americans encounter has varied depending on the color of their skin, the kind of community they live in, and the kinds of things they attempt to do. This section presents examples of the kinds of racial experiences the sample has had during their lives and what they have or have not done because of these experiences.

The range of experiences of the informants forms a continuum from no knowledge all the way through high school that they were different (that

they were an ethnic minority) to early childhood experiences of being punished for speaking Spanish in school or not being able to communicate to the teacher that they had to go to the bathroom. The interviews highlight several different ways these participants experienced racism such as not being invited to a friend's party and discovering that association at school was acceptable, but socializing during after school hours was not. A more subtle example was that of El Favor not being called in by the college counselor to discuss plans for college when he had taken all college-prep courses and then finding out about the "oversight" the last two weeks of his senior year when it was too late to change the situation.

It is interesting to note that four of the five who were raised outside of California reported the least amount of discrimination experiences in childhood. This pattern does not hold completely true, however, as one of the five raised outside of California encountered some of the worst prejudice of the sample. El Ejemplar, as mentioned earlier, grew up in a town that was 90% Hispanic. Thus he had good role models and was unaware of any discrimination as an adolescent. El Gerente grew up in a border town where the population was about 50% Hispanic. His experience was that most people were bilingual and he, too, never lacked Hispanic role models. These kinds of experiences combined with fairly light complexions, provided a different set of experiences on which to base their lives. On the other side of the continuum, El Leon grew up in a small agricultural town where there were signs in some of the stores which read "White Trade Only", where Hispanics had to sit in the balcony of the movie theater or swim in the city pool the day before it was cleaned. El Leon also happens to have a dark

complexion.

Several of the informants experienced what one interviewee labeled as "subtle forms of discrimination" including: "living on the wrong side of the tracks", going to pick up a girlfriend for a date and having her father slam the door in his face, or just being aware that there are certain kinds of activities one does and others one doesn't do because one learns that one will be rejected if that imaginary line is crossed. El Barbero relayed this experience very subtly by stating: "I've seen this stuff before and it was the same old stuff. It wasn't good or bad; it just didn't bother me." (One can interpret this statement to mean: I learned long ago that this would happen, so I became callous to it and went on with my life.)

The interviewees also developed a range of ways to deal with discrimination. Part of that response pattern emerged in their handling of the issues of discrimination in direct questioning about personal experiences and reaction to racism during the interviews for this study. The types of responses during the interviews can be grouped as follows:

1. Very open about childhood and adolescent discrimination as well as what is currently happening to them in their professional lives: La Actividad, El Corázon, El Dicho, and El Leon.

2. Openly discussed prejudicial experiences in early life but were guarded in response to current institutional experiences: El Favor, La Historia, and El Jugador.

3. Guarded discussion of early discrimination experiences but openly discussed current experiences: El Impresor.

4. Guarded discussion of all discrimination experiences: El Barbero, El

Gerente, El Maestro, and El Ejemplar.

It appears that open discussion of personal discrimination experiences had some connection between the participant being known before hand to the interviewer. Of the seven informants who are in the first two categories above, four of them were known to the interviewer before this study was done. Of the five informants in the last two categories, none of them were known to the interviewer prior to the study. Thus a personal relationship and the factor of trust cannot be overlooked on this point.

Summary of Emergent Themes

The sample studied manifest several commonalities including: (a) low income background, (b) ethnic minority status, (c) choice of profession, (d) high aspiration as young adults, (e) desire for upward mobility, (f) first in their family to go to college, and (g) a similar dream focus as young adults. Given the background and low educational level of their parents, the informants' degree of mobility has been significant.

Career Paths and Stages of the Life Cycle. When the sample is examined applying Levinson's (1980) adult development structure, it is apparent that the informants are at various stages in their lives. The sample contains a 20 year age range with the youngest member of the sample in the "settling down" era (age 33-40) and the oldest member of the sample in the "culmination of middle adulthood" (age 55-60). Five members of the sample chronologically are in the "midlife transition" period (age 40-45). However, of these five individuals, three, El Barbero, El Corázon, and El Ejemplar demonstrate the basic characteristics of the next stage, "entering middle

adulthood" (age 45-50). El Dicho and El Favor seem to fit the "midlife transition" stage (age 40-45). Of the two interviewees who fit age-wise in the entering "middle adulthood" phase, El Gerente is almost at the height of his career and La Historia is still trying to find her niche in life.

The "age 50 transition" period has posed significant problems for two of the three participants in this category. El Impresor and El Jugador have both reached places in their careers where they know they will go no higher even though both possess desires to do so. El Impresor cannot move up because he lacks the doctorate. El Jugador cannot move up because he has "burned too many bridges." El Leon the third member of this stage seems to be using his time productively in becoming a senior member of his collegial community. El Leon's career path has been slightly different from his age-mates because he completed one career (military service), spent six years deciding how he would spend the second half of his professional life, and then entered college teaching at age 46. He is the only other member of the sample to have two separate careers, aside from La Historia who also raised her family. Thus neither is as far along in their second career as others are in an only career.

El Maestro, being the senior member of this sample, manifests the characteristics appropriate to a senior member of his profession. It is interesting to note that the two informants who state they have accomplished their dream and are content with the outcome, are very disparate in their positions on the adult development continuum. El Maestro's views and behavior are age appropriate while El Barbero with possible 25 years of professional service ahead of him, has accomplished his goals and appears

to be seeking nothing at this time.

The youngest member of the sample, La Actividad, chronologically falls into the "settling down" period. She is trying to settle down, but several factors have interfered with her being able to accomplish this task smoothly. With the loss of her mentor, other colleagues, and her heavy workload, she appears to be floundering. She is searching for a dream focus which she can share professionally with others, and appears frustrated with that search at present.

Career Paths and Familial Backgrounds. When certain childhood and adolescent experiences are combined, three groups appear possessing similar characteristics. Group 1 includes La Actividad, El Corázon, La Historia, El Leon, and El Favor. The two factors shared by the members of this group is that they were all favored children and all participated in social activism. Four of the five had early discrimination experiences, were Spanish dominant as children, still have a dream and have high aspiration levels. Three members of this group were oldest children, two were youngest. Only one member of this group had support for continuing education past high school.

The second group includes El Ejemplar, El Gerente, and El Maestro. This group is similar in many ways. All were Spanish dominant as children (one claims he was bilingual by the time he started school), none had early racial experiences, all have been social activists, all are high achievers, and two still have dreams. One feels he has accomplished his dream. Two of these three were favored children; they also were the oldest children in their family. The one who was not a favored child was also a middle child. The

two favored oldest children also had significant parental support for furthering their education. The middle, non-favored child had no parental support for education.

The third group includes El Barbero, El Dicho, El Impresor, and El Jugador. This group's commonalities consist of little or no familial support for education, no significant early discrimination experiences, no social activism, no focused dream, and medium or thwarted aspirations. Of these four, two were middle children, none was favored, and two were English dominant. Two of these four were the youngest, Spanish dominant and favored.

Within this sample, those whose achievements have been the highest have in common a focused dream, a social cause, and high motivation to succeed. Spanish dominance and favored child status in the family seem to significantly help aspiration level. For the three groups, Group 1 can be defined as reacting to their ethnicity to find a career path. Group 2 reacted to the social conditions of others to find a career path. Group 3 developed their career paths based on personal goals.

At this point three basic career paths seem to emerge. Four major themes intertwine with their combined influence producing the outcomes thus far. Group 1 described above reacted to the 1960's in a significant way making those experiences the focus of their career path (e.g., teaching bilingual education). This group possesses a moral commitment to Chicanismo (a political stance of bettering life for Hispanics in all social areas) as a central part of how work is conducted, regardless of the potential costs to personal mobility. Group 2 developed a career path with an

intellectual commitment to Chicanismo but no early childhood prejudicial experiences from which to build an internal commitment. Intellectual commitment to Chicanismo has not impacted the members of Group 2 with regard to job choice nearly as much as that experienced by Group 1. Group 3 career paths are best described by an assimilationist model. Job choices have been limited by personal characteristics and influenced by lack of commitment to an issue which has resulted in a partial loss of professional identity and a greater focus on the pursuit of self-interests. Early prejudicial experiences for this group varied but the common thread includes a lack of creativity in integrating those experiences in meaningful ways.

The general findings suggest two major subgroup commonalities within this sample:

1. All advanced in their careers by taking advantage of opportunities as they came along instead of planning a career from a dream. This will be discussed as situational survival in Chapter 4.

2. With the 20 year age range in the sample, some are negotiating appropriate tasks for their period in Levinson's life cycle and some are either ahead of or behind the tasks of their period in the life cycle. Thus adult development and how long it takes to accomplish tasks significantly varies among individuals in the sample.

Chapter 4 takes a look at some of the concepts beginning to appear in this chapter such as: the effects of a present time orientation on career paths; and what the impact of having a mentor during early and middle career is and how the mentor affects the possible choices along the career path. Chapter 4 examines the early phases of career from childhood to

terminal degree. The impact of social mobility and social class as it pertains to this time focus in the participants lives is also examined.

Chapter 4

Mentoring and Mobility through Early Career

This chapter looks at the concepts of mentoring and mobility and how they develop from childhood through early career, or through the point at which one's terminal degree is attained. The next chapter deals with professional career, which covers career development up to the present. This chapter examines the ways in which mentoring is important to mobility that have not been covered by other writers, especially Levinson. What makes mentoring different for these participants is how it helps in addressing racism, the impact of social class on devising mobility strategies, and the tasks and hurdles of adult development.

A traditional mentor is described by Levinson et al., (1978) as a:

> ...teacher to enhance the young man's skills and intellectual development. Serving as a sponsor, he may use his influence to facilitate the young man's entry and advancement. He may be a host and guide, welcoming the initiate into a new occupational and social world and acquainting him with its values, customs, resources, and cast of characters. Through his own virtues, achievements, and way of living, the mentor may be an exemplar that the protege can admire and seek to emulate. He may provide counsel and moral support in time of stress. The mentor has another function, and this is developmentally the most crucial: to support and facilitate the realization of the dream (p. 98).

For these interviewees, mentoring is not as formal nor as extensive as the mentoring described by Levinson. What grows out of examining the lives of the 12 informants is that mentoring takes on a much shorter time-

frame, almost to the point of becoming momentary. Thus, momentary or situational mentoring is used in this study, unless otherwise specified, to mean mentoring that occurred for a short period of time or in a single situation. During the early career phase of occupational development, mentoring is received from family, teachers, and/or peers as a positive comment on one's abilities (e.g., "You're smart, why don't you go on to college?"). In a positive form, mentoring provides needed support to deal with a racist world. In a negative form--gatekeeping, people are mentored in a way which discourages movement or willingness to try something new, often with prejudicial intent, according to members of this sample.

Traditionally, mobility is defined as movement from one social class to another with social class measured by the occupational position held and the basic values one lives by (Kohn, 1977; Lewis, 1968). Mobility for this sample assumes this general definition but also breaks it down into a process. The process of mobility assumes a gradual shift in values and orientation toward life inclusive of cultural influences, prejudicial experiences which impact values, and very small steps to adapt to the new social class.

For the purpose of discussing the nuances of mobility as a process, situational survival is the term generated by the data in this study to describe the small steps taken toward "something better". Situational survival is a decision making strategy based on personal characteristics and cultural orientation which helps the individual recognize and evaluate an opportunity. It has components of the working class "street smarts" as El Leon defines it, which translate into a "sixth sense" or the ability to watch for

potential racism.

Situational survival can be examined in another way. It is a very positive, practical response to a social class orientation of dealing with life primarily in terms of immediate consequences (i.e., in terms of job, place to live, etc.). Thus, goals are set, but they remain present time oriented and within the grasp of the informant. This is an interesting translation of Levinson's developmental task of accomplishment of the "dream". The dream becomes, for members of this sample, the next step in the mobility process.

In the following sections, those factors found important in influencing mobility and mentoring are examined in more detail. The data will be used to elaborate and support the influencing factors in terms of the overall discussion of early career. This will be divided into separate sections on social and class values which is conceptualized for this study as kinds of membership, situational survival, examples of the components of mentoring, and how these affect mobility.

Setting the Stage: Early Career

Early career is the period during which the individual is socialized by family and community, encompassing school years and work up to the terminal college degree. Important during this phase are parents' socialization training encompassing values, education, aspirations, motivation, favored child status, experiences in school, teacher mentoring, and experiences with prejudice. These values and experiences set the stage for how the individual approaches later challenges and life situations.

A basic decision making strategy is established during this phase and remains fairly well intact through adult life.

The discussion which follows builds the idea that early mobility is a process affected by membership in the family, in the culture and in the social class. The early socialization practices develop in the individual strategies of dealing concretely and quickly with the present. What goes on in early socialization that is of consequence to this study will be discussed in the sections regarding mentoring, situational survival, and mobility.

Early mobility is the day-to-day practice and development of situational survival. It is present time oriented, concrete, and satisfies immediate needs. It encourages the individual to take small steps as a way of trying out new behaviors and skills. This is especially important in learning how to confront discrimination--a sort of getting to know the enemy. Thus, situational survival can be viewed as the translation of "street smarts" into a strategy to define, describe, and deal with new situations.

For the participants in this study, mentoring in the early stages of development comes in the form of the concept of the favored child . Being the favored child in a family suggests the child will get more attention, be "pushed" harder than the others, more expectations will be imposed, and more responsibilities will be placed on the individual. Mentoring in school comes from teacher encouragement--the kind words a teacher gives about the student's performance or abilities. Also overall academic success as in good grades or other school honors serves as mentoring because of the recognition involved (a positive comment on one's abilities from unsolicited sources). Mentoring in or from one's peer group comes as in a suggestion

from a trusted friend that one should do something or be proud of certain abilities.

The functions of the mentor exist but differ in the following ways from Levinson's description. What Levinson calls the sponsor function appears here as someone who suggests, in a non-racist way, that the individual try this or that. Levinson's exemplar function is the person for these participants who helps them define the next step. The host or guide function is found in the person who pulls the participants up a step by offering a job or teaching a value(s) of the middle class.

This chapter takes an in depth look at the influences of social class and cultural background on the development of situational survival as a means to be mobile. New interpretations of mentoring are presented as ways of gleaning encouragement from a rather sparse environment. The effects of prejudicial experiences interweave to make mentoring and situational survival ever more potent components in the upward mobility process of professional career development.

Situational Survival: The Effects of Socialization and Social Class

Three childhood socialization practices have significant impact on negotiating careers later in life for the informants: (a) early socialization training for participation in the world, (b) parent values regarding education, and (c) working class values of obedience and conformity. The social class literature, including the work of Kohn (1977), Gilbert & Kahl (1982), and others clearly shows that children are socialized to conform to their parents' perceptions of the world. Children adopt this perspective early and go about

defining their world based on parental views.

Kohn (1977) suggests that the substantive complexity of an individual's work and the type of work he/she chooses shapes the social psychological environment of child rearing. Involved in these are set values which tend to be more class oriented than ethnicity oriented. Dominant characteristics of the working class include an emphasis on good manners, obedience, conformity, neatness and an external locus of control (Kohn, 1977). The demographic data presented in Chapter 3 shows that the participants all came from lower socioeconomic class families. Parenting principles include strong gender distinctions and discipline based on the consequences of behavior in which the group is seen as primary. Groups include the extended family, community, and the larger group, the social class. Roots in one's culture are important and there is some desire to retain membership and not leave one's roots.

The following citations and discussions describe how family, community and social class constitute the major influences in the participants' lives. Kohn has examined them from the perspective of work. His study examines the same group affiliation needs from the perspective of socialization training (e.g., preparing or not preparing for mobility). The discussion will focus on the values of family, and more importantly, retaining membership-- a cultural and class characteristic. Some see the need to retain family and group membership as a barrier to mobility (Hernandez, 1973; Lewis, 1969). If one should stay with the family and culture, mobility can in fact be interpreted as separation and betrayal--leaving the value of membership and the other members behind. It has acted as a brake on

mobility or a limitation on the importance of mobility.

In its own way, membership in the family and community reemphasizes the importance of the present both as survival and participation. The values which emerged in the interviews manifest the importance of family and group membership in the following ways: (a) hard work, (b) orientation toward the present (which seems like a limitation but in fact makes mentoring more powerful for the individual. The middle class, future oriented child can make it on his/her own, but the working class, present oriented child needs mentoring to set him/her on the mobility path), and (c) the responsibilities of family membership including family support (in the form of work, caring for other children, etc). These factors are problems for mobility which the middle class child usually doesn't have to confront.

In the following quote from La Actividad, cultural values of family, friends, and how leisure time is spent in the working class become evident:

> We never took vacations, we could never afford vacations, but what we did were things with the family, and so the culture in terms of the mores, the expectations, the social events, everything was pretty much within the bounds of the extended family. Family friends became like uncles and aunts. Everything happened in a different linguistic context and sometimes I could invite someone to come, only if they were Chicanas or Latinas would they understand what was going on and there was definitely a sanction against my not being there.

This quote highlights the family expectation that La Actividad participate in family functions (Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974). It also illustrates how her social network was constricted via the reality that only friends who understood Spanish would enjoy going with her because the language spoken was Spanish. This example highlights how cultural expectations

perpetuate a membership characteristic which can put a stop to mobility because of a lack of challenge from the outside. This increases the importance of childhood mentoring. Thus, a comment from a teacher that the child should go to college holds extra importance.

Found in the next quote is the parental value that education is important. Implicit here, however, is that education to most working class families means finishing high school. After that, the child is of age to work and thus should provide income to the family or cease to be a drain on it. What comes through clearly in the following quote from La Historia, is her perception of the parents' expectation that she be obedient and conform to the needs of the family:

> My mother had me go to a Catholic school....that was her goal that I finish high school and beyond that my mother was not able to see anything for me except work. We had a hard time surviving and she wanted me to go to work as soon as high school was out and I knew I had to do that. I just couldn't be a drain on the family any more....

While La Historia may have had dreams or goals of her own, a dominant value of the working class is the family and its needs as a whole unit. Thus, when an individual is mobile and moves from the working class to the middle class, the individual is violating basic rules such as helping the family financially. If the individual gives in to this kind of family (group) pressure or values the group more than the self, this can serve as a barrier to mobility.

Reflecting another aspect of class-based characteristics is the practical day-to-day existence of those who are not sure where the next job will come from. Given this philosophy, one must survive today and therefore there isn't much time or energy to plan for the future. El Jugador describes

his father's approach to life as:

> ...None of us ever had any problems with the law, I guess because my dad used the philosophy, 'You keep a person really busy, they'll be so darn tired, they can't do anything wrong.' So we worked quite a bit...we worked very hard from the time school was out, after school on Saturdays and Sundays...we really worked hard so I think that form of discipline kept us pretty well in line.

This quote reflects class-based characteristics of parental authority and control of children, economic needs of the family, and fear that children will be "bad" if they have free time. All three of the citations illustrate the importance of schoolm along with the need to have the children working to support the family and keep out of trouble. Part of the basic philosophy of the working class is hard work. The reality of the working class existence is that there is never enough money to go around, so both children and parents must work to make "ends meet". This struggle to "make ends meet" predisposes one to a present time orientation.

These brief examples demonstrate strong class-based characteristics of families needing to stick together for the sake of the whole (survival). They also reflect deference to parental wishes in the form of obedience and conformity, which are typical of the working class. It is not surprising to find the individuals in this study responding to environmental pressures and expectations. In an ironic way, it is just these expectations for conformity, obedience, and allegiance to the family (Kohn, 1977) which create the basis of situational survival (the present time orientation based in the concrete reality of the present and the relating to others' expectations) which develop a slower, step-by-step mobility process. Conformity is one way to look at the

adherence to class values, but to the sample, it seems more that they were fulfilling the responsibilities of membership. The idea of membership integrates the responsibilities of class, culture, and family.

Situational Survival

Referring back to Chapter 2, the present orientation of the working class is a pervasive characteristic which dominates day-to-day existence. One must have a job for this week or food today, or this week's paycheck will pay the light bill this month. This kind of orientation sets the individual up to evaluate the present as it is meeting one's needs (Hernandez, 1973; Kohn, 1977; and Logan & O'Hearn, 1982). The individual responding to this kind of pressure is simply responding to membership values. Thus, situational survival is a natural outgrowth of the idea of responding to group membership, but with an emphasis on the present.

Situational survival, as defined in this study, is a decision making strategy learned in early childhood as a way of dealing with the harsh realities of being poor. Daily conditions of the poor impose a present orientation initiating a process of recognizing and evaluating an opportunity and making a quick decision about it. One of the characteristics of situational survival exemplified by members of this sample is that the quick decision making without considering future ramifications makes upward mobility an ethereal goal (i.e., the purpose is to move upward but because of lack of direction, movement is somewhat haphazard). Because of the lack of direction, steps are incremental as only the next step in an "A" then "B" possibility. Individuals involved in this process can see only a murky future,

an impressionistic sense of something better, which is ultimately replaced by a comparative look at the present. Evaluating options in the present means comparing (a) leaving something determined as negative or not good enough for (b) something indeterminate but seemingly better, because it removes a pain (present dissatisfaction) without clearly adding a worse one (what the next step will bring is unknown), although there may be a new pitfall hiding somewhere. What is important is that the present pain will be gone, thus allowing the person to survive the situation.

Analysis of the Strategy for Situational Survival

Evaluating two alternatives requires conceiving of both in terms of how each affects the present, with no consideration of how either might affect the future. There is a range of responses which show this which includes: (a) lessoning the pain of the current situation; (b) making a lateral move; (c) no direction but wanting to change; and (d) making the A - B comparison.

Recognizing the opportunity. Situational survival is the recognizing or creating of an opportunity followed by making the decision to seize the opportunity as it appears to be the next step forward With this kind of outlook, it is difficult to do any kind of long-range planning (when one doesn't even know if there will be food to eat tomorrow). The following from the interview with El Impresor illustrates the lack of planning, yet recognition of the need to take advantage of an opportunity:

> I worked all through high school unloading trucks in the city market. I used to go to work at two in the morning and get off at seven and then I would

> go to high school. I did that for a couple years. Then I graduated from high school and worked through the summer and at the end of the summer I realized that something else had to happen so on an impulse, I joined the service.

Decisions like the one above are made because they present to the individual what appears to be leaving something determined to be negative (I'm not satisfied with the job) for something better (although what makes it better is unknown). The realization that "something else has to happen" and the spur of the moment decisions which are made, are important factors in situational survival.

It is a strategy with a purpose but no direction. Situational survival is present oriented suggesting that goals are not consciously planned but evaluated at the time of opportunity--thus what looks good at the moment is pursued. El Leon illustrates the concept of situational survival and the repetition of it in his life to continue making progress. This example also illustrates the lack of long-range planning inherent in this concept and the present oriented, incremental nature, of it.

> I went into the Air Force thinking I wanted to be a mechanic. When you work in the fields, you're working on your knees, you next goal in life is to get off your knees. So you see people driving a tractor, and you say, hey man, I'm going to get off my knees and drive a tractor....I had two choices when I finished basic training. You could either be a parachute rigger...or a fire fighter. So I went in there [fire fighting] still hoping that I could be a mechanic....When the time came to get discharged, the choice was to remain or go back to work in the fields. And I figured that staying in the Air Force was a little bit better than going back to work in the fields....When I reenlisted, an announcement came out that they wanted people to go to Lowry A.F.B. to go to school. It was called remote control turrets, which I didn't know anything about,

> but a guy I was working with told me it was related to gunnery. Well, Lowry was close to home, so I decided to volunteer to go....When I got to Denver, they saw my IQ test and said, 'you shouldn't be here', there's no way you're going to learn this stuff. So I talked them into it. I said, 'look, you've already spent all the money to get me up here, give me a chance. If I don't make it, then ship me back....' And sure enough on the second course I dropped back one course....So I got into electronics....

Bettering oneself is also part of the concreteness of the concept. Situational survival involves an individual taking advantage of a situation because it may lead to an "unrecognized or better" goal. In other words possible situation "B" is better than real situation "A". Going to school (as in El Leon's case) is better than being a fire fighter because there is either better pay or more opportunity. It may not be a step toward something as much as a step away from something. Situational survival is rather low risk because the individual perceives that the decision will be better for whatever reason.

From Situational Survival to Mobility: The Role of the Mentor

Situational survival facilitates mobility even though the goals remain murky and undefined. The decision to be mobile comes at some juncture of early career. Whether it be completing school, getting a job offer, or creating a job, the path gets set. The desire for mobility grows out of previous early mentoring or gatekeeping experiences. Mentoring is supportive and encourages mobility; the willingness to risk the next step. Gatekeeping discourages mobility. The next step as presented by the mentor remains murky, but trust placed in the mentor necessitates a spur-of-the-moment decision that something more is possible.

In examining El Leon's life, one gets the impression that developing the skills of situational survival was a very gradual process and that each step of the way, each greater piece of knowledge about the world brought him closer to being able to achieve a professional career. With others, there was an early realization that college was a possibility, but because of a variety of factors, that final step was hard to accomplish. Two examples illustrated this point:

> I was good in sports and also a good student and I think the last couple weeks of school I was talking to somebody...and they were all happy because they had just received their acceptance letter from [a college]...and they'd say, 'where are you going to school?' and I'd say, 'gosh, I don't know...' and they'd say, 'Well didn't Miss so-and-so take you to the office and go over the choices of different schools and application processes?' And I'd say, 'No, she didn't,' and she hadn't and I was really hurt...I was hurt, so when I graduated from high school, I joined the Navy.

This experience had a profound effect on El Favor. Because of this gatekeeping experience and other circumstances of the intervening years, it took El Favor 11 years to finish college. Even though this individual had had mostly favorable experiences in school, the counselor's gatekeeping set him back years in developing a career. Thus gatekeeping can and often does significantly slow or stop mobility.

El Barbero had a slightly different experience. He commented that at the high school he attended, "if you wanted to do something you weren't encouraged to take something else." When asked how he made the decision to go to college, El Barbero stated, "there really wasn't a very conscious effort made to...it was something that just gradually evolved and I guess the realization of it came when you had to apply."

Both of these informants had positive high school experiences, yet one took a very straight path to a professional career and the other floundered considerably. Both cases provide evidence of early mobility desires. Both were aware of the possibility of college, although one had more roadblocks than did the other. Thus, even though the desire for upward mobility exists, the path one follows is not always straight or easy.

Components of Mobility

The components of mobility can be usefully framed in terms of membership in the group. In this study, moral commitment is viewed as one of the responsibilities of membership just as is the sense of family and community. The characteristic of conformity and allegiance to the family and group, were raised anew with the advent of and involvement in the civil rights movement.

For this study, mobility is defined as having three components. The first component of mobility focuses on goal setting. The second component involves a moral commitment which is an outgrowth of early prejudicial experiences. The third component takes into account an intellectual need to learn and to do something with the acquired knowledge. All three components make way for as yet, undefined professional careers.

Goal setting, the first component of mobility gains its importance because of its vague and ethereal nature. For the participants to translate working class characteristics into middle class characteristics, an awareness must be achieved that something different is better. However, the awareness does not have to include a specific goal (Kohn, 1977). For

working class individuals, Levinson et al., (1978) suggests that the dream or the long term goal which supports a career path is empty. Situational survival replaces the middle class dream, by encouraging the desire to move up one step at a time from a less-than-terrific present. It is clear that upward mobility is desired, but not fully understood. Thus, the dream is empty, but because of the desire for mobility, the dream will be filled out in the present when one gets there.

The second and third components of mobility; moral and/or intellectual commitment to make things better for self/others, are seen in the ways the informants talk about what motivated them to pursue higher education careers. These are personal motivators which come together with the "empty" dream to provide meaning to the strategy of situational survival. One informant had a clear "intellectual" commitment to pursue college teaching. For him, the dream came into focus in college when he realized he could make a career in mathematics. This intellectual commitment exists to some degree in each participant, but for most a moral commitment of wanting to improve the educational and social plight of Mexican Americans was a more resounding impetus to the pursuit of a professional career. The motivation behind this moral commitment for the majority of the informants came from their personal experiences of being treated as "second class" citizens in school. This fueled the desire that other Mexican American children should not go through the same kinds of experiences.

For eight of the informants, part of their motivation to pursue a professional career came from the civil rights movement and the recognition on their part that they as individuals could do something to improve the

educational plight of other Hispanics. This recognition that educational experience could be improved for children developed into a passion which served as a motivator to pursue advanced degrees. The changes that many of the informants saw as necessary and needed could not have taken place had they remained classroom teachers. Thus, moral commitment to an idea and the passion to follow through have significantly helped this group become mobile.

What has been presented thus far suggests that this new conceptualization of mobility as situational survival is a strategy which can function within the present orientation of the working class as it does not require long-term goals, is concrete, and satisfies immediate needs. Situational survival more succinctly defines the mobility process in several ways: (a) It encourages the individual to examine his/her environment and make short-term judgments on present circumstances; (b) it allows for aspirations above the parental occupational level; and (c) it responds to gradual changes in the individual of values, social relationships, peer relationships, and traditional class bound activities. Situational survival gives the individual small steps from which to try out new behaviors and gradually adopt new ways of working with people and dealing with institutions. Thus, situational survival provides the strategy working class people use to approach mobility.

The next section of this chapter discusses mentoring and how it functions as part of the mobility process. It will become evident that receiving some form of mentoring was extremely important to participants as a way of developing situational survival techniques. Mentoring modifies

working class characteristics a little at a time, through examples of trusted, non-racist others, encouraging the upwardly mobile Hispanic professional to gradually function in a middle class environment.

Mentoring

This section examines mentoring and the various conditions of the participants lives which requires the modification of the notion of mentoring in a number of ways not covered by Levinson. Levinson's definition of mentoring focuses on the young adult entering a career and presumes an established, durable work relationship. In this study the mentoring relationship developed or was utilized at many stages in adolescence and adulthood. Only two members of the sample ever experienced comprehensive mentors as described by Levinson. One of the important features of mentoring in this study is that it is conceptualized as short-term, incidental, or situational in nature. Another aspect of mentoring is that it explains the evasive part of the mobility process as a lack of recognition at the time of who mentored them and how they changed their orientation toward college. It also gives direction to the informants even if the direction is not clear to them while mentoring is happening.

Mentoring found in the interviews is organized into four sections. The first section focuses on the importance of mobility in how it gives direction to the mobility process, provides a focus for movement, and provides support, even if not clearly recognized by the sample. As mentioned in previous quotes, most informants were not aware of the mentoring received at the time, but were able to identify it in retrospect in terms of its importance and

the direction it provided them later in life. The second section focuses on other functions of mentoring including the non-racist nature of the experiences with mentors and how it helped to identify possible future identities. The third section focuses on how mentoring raises the possibility of a future or sets the future in present A - B terms. The last way mentoring is looked at in the early career developmental stage is by types such as favored child, teacher encouragement and peer encouragement.

The traditional conceptualization of a mentor (mentioned above) is modified here in several ways. In this study nine of the sample were "favored children" (defined earlier in this chapter). This provided them with added responsibilities and parental expectations (a form of mentoring) which is a common influential factor in achievement motivation. A partially different nine participants reported parental encouragement of education. This is a more traditional form of childhood mentoring. All sample members received encouraging words or actions from teachers. For Mexican Americans, this unsolicited and unracist form of encouragement planted the seed for them to believe in their own abilities. This is often tied to single situations with outsiders and is therefore distinct from the parental forms of mentoring. What evolves from these almost hit or miss experiences is the conceptualization of a makeable future, (the dream), set in the concrete reality of the present. The makeable future represents the one next step in mobility, focused on the present that whatever comes next must be better than the not so perfect present.

The favored child. Some form of mentoring is common among all sample members. As discussed in Chapter 3, being the favored child was a

form of mentoring experienced by nine of the informants. The favored child was encouraged to be autonomous, a family leader, an authority figure, and was encouraged to take responsibility when other siblings were not given the same encouragement. Siblings also provided encouragement for education which was subsequently internalized by the informant and may be construed as a form of mentoring. El Corázon presents an almost humorous anecdote about how his brother functioned as his childhood mentor:

> ...My oldest brother really was conscientious about giving me advice and guidance all the way through. At one point he told me, he said, 'Look, you'd better get your ass in school unless you're big enough to whip my ass.' He weighted about 220 lbs. and I weighed about 125 lbs. wet. I don't think he would have done that but he was pretty firm that since he had never gotten the chance to go to college, that somebody in our family needed to. And he recognized that I was good enough in school that I should, so he really pushed me.

While many individuals might have rebelled at this kind of pressure from a parent or sibling, for El Corázon, this comment or "threat" was interpreted as the kind of caring and concern which provided motivation for a long time.

Teacher encouragement. Of the informants, 11 reported they received some kind of encouragement or "mentoring" from teachers. In the interviews, most of the participants were not aware of the encouragement/support they received from teachers at the time, but most of them reported that in their 20's, they looked back and saw the encouragement given and were able at that point to convert the mentoring into internalized values. For all 12 informants, mentoring from either favored status in the family or from teacher (role model) encouragement, or both in many cases, assisted them in breaking the non-mobility pattern of their

social class background.

The significance of teacher mentoring is often not realized or felt until years later. El Dicho provided an interesting example of this:

> ...Thinking back through, I remember one time in the seventh grade, I guess I was doing something out of the ordinary, and the nun said, 'just because you are third, doesn't mean you can mess around.' And that statement never really hit home until years later, when all of a sudden it came back and what I found out is that she used to sit us according to our academic standing. So I guess that at that time I all of a sudden felt that I did have something going for me way back then....

El Ejemplar also strongly felt the effects of teachers providing support. He stated: "I had good teachers that motivated me and told me I should do it. So I had encouragement, but there was nothing else there [no parental or peer support]". Support and encouragement by parents and/or teachers is extremely important as the first step in the mobility process. It initiates a basic sense that "I can be somebody"; it allows the individual to believe in him/herself.

Peer encouragement. Sometimes the mentoring was just a remark that was taken to heart by someone in the sample. It is sometimes a one-time comment or remark which is internalized by the individual because the remark comes at a crucial time when the individual is in need of the encouragement to make a major decision. Four participants reported they received peer encouragement. El Jugador provided an example of how momentary mentoring can change the course of a life:

> To tell you exactly how it went I can't tell you. I can't pinpoint it but it had to do with the influence of the Chinese individual [high school friend] who

> said, 'Lets take algebra.' There had to be some influence from scouting, and had to be the influence of my Philipino friend who actually took me by the hand and brought me here and then I guess a combination of my mother and my father saying, 'be something'....It was a combination of many things.

El Jugador provided a clear example of the impact that peer encouragement can have. He also exemplified the variety and extent of all three forms of childhood mentoring, most of which were momentary in nature, which combined later in life to form a reservoir of encouragement and support from which to draw. Thus, as El Jugador stated, "it was a combination of many things."

Therefore, a word from a teacher acting as a sponsor and implying the student has "talent" or a comment from a trusted peer attempting to define the next step by saying that one is good in arithmetic, can serve as an early impetus at least to consider the option that something else is possible. Situational or momentary comments (a brief form of mentoring) from family, school, and/or peers is the kind of comment which serves as a reservoir with significant power to influence later life decisions.

Conceptually, this mentor/mentee relationship is not formalized in any way. It is short-term (ranging from a single remark to encouraging words through a specific situation). What this form of mentoring does is to establish within the individual, during the early career phase of development, the possibility of a dream [in Levinson's terms]. Thus, many forms of mentoring in childhood are able to suggest to individuals as they develop, that something more than what their parents currently have is possible (i.e., a makeable future). This is set in the concrete reality of the

present because it points out just the next step and does not help them set long-range goals.

In early career, the formulation of a dream continues to grow in the form of increased mentoring, suggestions from peers or teachers that the individual try college, set short-term goals, and then attempt to achieve them. A present orientation at this point is the next move in the form of an individual suggesting "take this class", or "have you thought about majoring in this?" Still situational in nature, the mentoring begins to take a more focused approach or a narrowing tact which, while still present oriented, hints of a future or a dream. Mentoring later in the career takes on more of the characteristics of Levinson's traditional mentoring.

Racism and the development of a sixth sense. A strong theme for mobile Mexican Americans is the issue of racism. Not knowing where they will run into prejudice makes attaching to a mentor an extremely risky task because it requires letting down one's guard. Thus, in light of this, many Hispanics who could, in fact, benefit from some kind of mentoring do not, because of a lack of trust in the possible mentor. For those who do risk, keeping the mentoring tied to a specific need or situation allows them the opportunity to learn and to protect the self.

The short-term mentor/mentee relationship is a way to learn about the absence of racism by providing lessons in feeling and finding out what non-racist behavior is like. It becomes a way to judge, in seemingly instinctive fashion, whether persons from another culture are friend [mentor] or foe; whether they can be trusted and accepted, or should be rejected. There is an intuitive judgment made on some rule--encouragement or introduction to

think about the next step. El Leon alludes to the judgment that is made and how one makes it:

> Coming from a poverty background, the survival thing, you develop that sixth sense; that idea that this is the way it is. It's just a matter of time, and the best way to fight that of course, is to do the best you can where your strengths do overshadow your weaknesses.

Situational mentors in a fashion plot the next step of mobility by pointing it out; a sort of affirming generically--confirming personally process. Situational mentors appear to break down a middle class career oriented future into a manageable and acceptable bite of just the next step.

Early adulthood mentoring. In early career, mentoring takes on a slightly different meaning. Mentoring, for this sample, was unsolicited, non-racist, and therefore surprising and often unsettling. In other words, "Why did someone say something nice to me?" When the point becomes germane to the present situation, it is recalled and acted upon in terms set forth by the mentor. Therefore, someone goes to college, stays in school, or takes a job. Working class mentoring is effective because of the mentee's sensitivity to the external situation. When the mentee receives support that is non-prejudicial, it is accepted unquestioningly.

Given that conformity is a part of the working class socialization process and self-direction is a characteristic of the middle class, what makes mentoring work for these individuals is a surprising result. It is possible to suggest here that the working class tendency toward conformity to external pressures may explain part of the success of mentoring. In this sample it appears that conformity and a lack of prejudice from the mentor toward the mentee generated an acceptance of mentoring. An added dimension of this

is dealing with a live person (concrete) rather than an abstract goal in the future somewhere that enhances the effect and willingness (at some point) to follow the mentor's suggestion.

Mentoring an identity. A mentored identity is defined here as a reservoir (or holding place) of suggestions from mentors which the individual puts together in some way as a set of personal possibilities for one's life. Early mentoring received from family, teachers, and/or peers, says to the individual, "someone believes in me," which develops this reservoir. The reservoir is a way of bringing the future into the present, where it sits and "nags" at the individual until he/she acts on these earlier suggestions. This creates a mentored identity which is based on two premises: (a) external encouragement, thus an external identity, and (b) a need to fulfill the expectations of others to be worthy of their time and investment.

When an individual's identity is mentored, it is not owned and there is a significant amount of "other pleasing" that transpires. This external motivation can be very strong when the individual is not sure within him/herself what is needed or wanted. El Leon related the following story about some early mentoring he received:

> I can think of one right off hand....he was a Master Sergeant, which was the highest you could go in those days. He kind of adopted myself and this other guy from New Mexico, to the point where they were kind of like our parents. We'd even take our checks to his wife and she would give us like our allowance....He was very influential. He was always telling us learn, go to school, because no matter what happens, they can never take that knowledge away from you. So I guess that was the beginning of getting motivated to go to school.

El Leon trusted this individual in an unracist way, even though this Sergeant

was an Anglo from Georgia. In other words, El Leon allowed part of his identity to be formed by an external force. El Leon encountered significant racial prejudice in his early life. Thus, when there have been prejudicial experiences, mentoring tends to be more powerful because the absence of prejudice in mentoring tends to make the mentor more credible to the mentee. Stone and Farberman (1981) support this concept by suggesting that "interpretation is the core process of human interaction" (p. 88). They go on to suggest that people do not respond automatically to stimuli but rather cogitate, analyze, judge, and then react. Thus, individuals come to some kind of decision regarding possible meaning before they assume a posture toward it (Bandura, 1982; Bandura, 1977, Mischel, 1974).

Gatekeeping and mentoring at the same time produce some confusion for the individual with a mentored identity. If the gatekeeping message has racist overtones as was mentioned about El Favor earlier, the mentee tends to reject the message as the mentor is untrusted. If no racist overtones exist but only a strong message that one is not good enough, as exemplified in the following quote from La Actividad, gatekeeping blurs the good points and hinders aspirations.

> ...I was a good student, I was an honors student, I got perfect scores on my Spanish SAT's but the nuns gave me double messages. Some told me that they didn't think I'd make it through college, and some said I would, and those who said I would were Chicana.

Here, La Actividad had to choose one mentor over another because what she heard did not match what she wanted to hear. Thus she picked what was probably the less prejudicial mentoring, internalized it, and disregarded

the other sources.

Part of a mentored identity includes the comparison of the situational survival, present oriented choice of leaving something negative, for something better because it removes a pain without clearly adding a worse one. The following quote from El Maestro illustrates three characteristics of mentoring: (a) the choice that the opportunity looks better than what exists presently; (b) an unracist mentor; and (c) a mentor who can define the next step.

> I was measuring a pool room to sell them a space heater...and the superintendent was there with me measuring the room, and somehow he found out that I had a teaching credential. So he came over and said, 'I will pay you as much as you're making as a truck driver in a year for nine months of teaching at this school'....I told him I may not be able to discipline kids. He said, 'Well, I'll give you 30 days. If you can't do it I'll make you my gas and butane installation man for the school and the apartments and still pay you the same salary.' So I couldn't refuse that. By that time my first wife had gotten her teaching credential and I said, 'What about my wife,' and he said, 'I'll hire both of you....'

El Maestro evaluated and seized the opportunity because something different appeared to be something better. He accepted mentoring from a trusted source and accomplished his next step in a career path.

The process of developing a mentored identity begins with the collection of suggestions from family, teachers and/or peers into a reservoir which builds a set of personal possibilities. Since the identity is being created by external suggestions, a significant amount of other-pleasing exists. This necessitates the development of trust in the non-prejudicial nature of the mentor. Listening to mentors provides practice in making

present oriented choices regarding leaving something negative for something that has the possibility of being better. The gatekeeper, however, if believed, may slow or divert the mentored identity process.

Taking the next steps in the mobility process. Short-term mentors point out, make, or in some way confirm the next step in mobility. The way members of the sample seem to think of this is in present oriented terms of advantage rather than future oriented terms like career. The step has to have some clear, distinct advantage in comparison with the present, a sort of "where would I rather be?" or "what would I rather do?" quality of comparing two options for today, although there might be some allowance for the future in a general way worked in somewhere.

El Impresor provides an example of not having a mentor yet making the comparative judgment that what is out there is better than what I have and acting on that decision. As with several members of the sample, the first several jobs in their lives helped define the career more and more narrowly:

> I was interviewed and offered or considered for a position...my fellowship came along to go to Central America so I wrote the Peace Corps and backed out....When I started my first college teaching job the idea of going into the Peace Corps continued.... so again on a hunch I wrote the Peace Corps a letter saying even though I've taken myself out of consideration earlier, I'm still interested....three months later I was in the Peace Corps....Then I went to the Organization of American States (OAS)...my primary interests were in Latin America and the OAS just fit in there very nicely....I had always wanted to be with an international organization....It took me about six months to realize that the OAS was not the organization I had been led to believe it was and I wasn't cut out for it. So fortunately at about this time a position developed here. Some friends of mine who were on the faculty called me to see if I would consider a

> position here. Well, that went on for about a year and a half and eventually I ended up here a faculty member.

El Impresor jumped from job-to-job in his search for something "better." Some of his steps were forward, some lateral, yet they provided practice in making situational choices in the mobility process. He had individuals acting as situational mentors and as gatekeepers. Some were helpful in defining the next step, others more effective at blurring it.

The process of mobility in early career suggests that mentoring is powerful in providing examples of the next step and affirming one's talents. Gatekeeping diverts or slows the process as trusted mentors turn out to be not trustworthy. Situational survival as a decision making strategy provides practice in making spur-of-the-moment choices regarding something potentially better. Early prejudicial experiences provide the background for "knowing" in an intuitive sense, whether or not a person can be trusted. Then situational choice can be made regarding the better option pointed out by the trusted source as the next step in mobility.

The participants examined here provide examples of two career patterns. The first is exemplified by El Barbero who was able to take the more middle class path and go straight through to a professional career. While there were no side jobs for him on his route to higher education, his interview illustrates that he also was not totally focused, that he didn't have long range goals, but acted on the suggestions of others.

For the remainder of the sample, early career involved running through a series of progressively better jobs and becoming mobile in a beginning fashion. This second pattern exemplifies working class mobility

which uses mentoring as a way to establish and validate situational survival type choices. Within this second group, the amount of time spent wandering around in pre-professional jobs and professional but pre-terminal degree jobs varied significantly. El Leon took almost 30 years to reach a terminal degree while others wandered for three or four years. Thus, what the individual brings to the process, his/her prejudicial encounters, and the mentoring received affect the length and outcome of early career.

Summary

Three ingredients play crucial roles in developing the mobility process of working class individuals who eventually emerge into professional careers. First are the socialization practices of the working class with its emphasis on conformity to external pressures. Conformity to class characteristics such as obedience, trains the individual to internalize information from others (teachers, parents, peers) whether it is acted on in the present or saved for later.

Situational survival develops throughout childhood and early career into a decision making strategy which helps the individual to recognize and evaluate an opportunity. Once the opportunity is recognized, a quick decision (situational survival) is made guided by mobility aspirations (the next step) which points to a short-term goal without planning long-range goals (no longitudinal direction). This is the small step defined by the mentor. Because of the working class background of the individuals, the future remains murky as they are basically unaware of the opportunities or possibilities out there. Thus, a negotiating strategy is formed based on an A

- B comparison. "A" becomes leaving something negative for "B" which is something indeterminate but clearly better because it is a step away from what has been known in the past.

Mentoring sets up this strategy. Early mentoring comes from family, teachers, and/or peers, is momentary in nature, but when it occurs on several occasions from non-prejudicial sources, builds up a reservoir of ideas which "nag" at the individual until he/she feels confident to act on them. Gatekeeping serves to slow down the mobility process, making the career path less straight and more time consuming. The mentored identity of early career builds up a set of possibilities. In other words, it teaches the individual about the opportunities which exist while retaining the present advantage of the focus on today without future planning. The process of having a variety of mentors teaches the mentee about the short-lived nature of some relationships, about the development of intuitive judgments, and about the small steps in the mobility process.

In other words, mentoring and situational survival conform to the patterns of early childhood socialization among working class people. These individuals become mobile without a distinct future orientation, just a sense that something else is better than what they have in the present. This kind of mobility also exists without what have traditionally been thought to be essential middle class planning skills. Working class mobility is achieved under the conditions of their early socialization. That is why the mentors and situational survival are such powerful and influential factors. The mentors operate as concrete, in-the-present guides who define the next step and, for various reasons, influence the mentees to pursue the paths the mentors set

out for them.

Chapter 5 continues the examination of membership, situational survival, and mentoring as they develop in professional careers. During the professional career phase of adult development, needs become more focused on the roles, opportunities, and nuances of these characteristics within institutions. The development of meaningful work, or the failure to develop it, is explored.

Chapter 5

Meaningful Work in Professional Career

To this point, an examination has been presented of how poor Mexican Americans learn mobility strategies by learning to receive mentoring and developing situational survival negotiating strategies. As the participants in this study moved into professional careers, two main themes appear to have affected the development of their professional work in higher education: (a) how they derived significance from their work and (b) how they used strategies and tactics developed early in life to function effectively in their professional work.

The first part of Chapter 5 focuses on professional work which is divided into two subsections: creating meaningful work and attaining meaningful work. Both factors are developed as ways of integrating childhood background (the sociocultural characteristics and practices examined in Chapter 4) into career. These constructs grew out of the data generated by the interviews and seem to be the most significant differences for sample members when compared with more traditional career paths. Creating meaningful work and attaining meaningful work are ways of looking at the factors which assist an individual in making career choices. In the lives of these participants, motivational aspects of mentoring and situational survival set up the process of establishing meaning in work. Making one's career relevant to one's basic value system creates meaning and thus becomes a strong motivator when the "going gets tough" in

attaining meaningful work.

Creating meaningful work looks at three independent factors which coalesce in some, but not all careers under study here: (a) symbolic membership in community of origin which for most was based on (b) early prejudicial experiences, which helped (c) focus the dream or career path. Attaining meaningful work in a professional career can be divided into three contributing factors. The first is the choice of a field, direction of research, and faculty activity on campus, in writing, and in work. The second part of meaningful work includes providing cultural mentoring to those who are coming up. The third aspect is attaining senior membership (i.e., full professor with tenure--also a term used by Levinson et al., 1978 to denote a person whom others turn to for advice and help) which influences traditional roles in higher education.

The second part of Chapter 5 examines negotiating strategies in professional careers. The negotiating strategies of situational survival and listening to mentors, as examined in Chapter 4, continue to be powerful forces well into professional careers. Thus, mentoring and situational survival are examined as they impact the creation of and attainment of meaningful work. This sample appears to derive meaning and motivation from work and at the same time there exists reciprocity in that the participants' view of their work influences the content and conduct of working in higher education.

What creates "meaning" in a career and what are the effects of variations in careers that allow career paths to be different yet produce overall similar results (attainment of professional positions in higher

education)? Career paths, a term used frequently in this chapter, suggests the small steps taken by the participants which, after a period of time, begin to show a general direction for one's professional life. Thus, career paths are longitudinal. A retrospective look at where one came from and how each job or career change builds upon previous experiences, brings the individuals to where they are today. Two critical factors affect career paths: (a) a variation in commitment to either the community of origin or a community of choice, and (b) the career dream; whether it is being fulfilled, it is lost, the individual is still searching, or there was no dream to initiate looking. Chapter 5 examines the factors which develop meaning in professional career and illustrates a variety of career paths which occur as a result of childhood and early adult experiences.

Creating Meaningful Work

Meaningful work is a construct which emerges from the interview data in a strong way. As the sample became upwardly mobile, the question of how work would be made meaningful to their lives became an important aspect of individual choices in career paths. Generally, work becomes meaningful when it is tied to some primary community of identification (Charlton & Maines, 1980; Levinson et al., 1978; Miller, 1981). For most of the interviewees, this meant identifying with one's background of ethnicity and poverty and incorporating who they were (childhood identity) into a range of career choices. Meaning in career can come from many sources. For the participants in this study those sources most often cited as providing meaning include: symbolic membership in a community of origin,

developing an institutional identity, critical life events, and how the individual focuses a career dream. The need to be upwardly mobile and also the need to obtain a sense of security in one's employment, as will be seen later, influences meaning in one's career.

Symbolic membership. Symbolic membership in a primary community affords an individual the opportunity to create an ethnic identity as part of meaningful work. Symbolic membership provides motivation in the sense of doing something for one's "people", while at the same time allows the professional an opportunity to make his or her job unique. In other words, "I do this work because of who I am." The ethnic identity also provides the individual with a community to look to for support as well as to gain self-esteem as a leader for that primary community. Ethnic identity can foster a need in the individual to be responsible to the community and to help make sure that what (s)he is working toward, is "good" for the community.

Working class characteristics underlie symbolic membership through the camaraderie of group membership. The idea of group membership survives into professional career and generates professional work--work that ties or keeps them tied in with their primary cultural community. One has not left the community of origin if part of what gives meaning to one's work is an ethnic identification. On the other hand, the desire to retain community membership can make work meaningful. Thus, the retention of group membership, in both symbolic and concrete ways, is part of the core of meaningful work.

El Favor illustrates his need to feel a part of and take pride in his

primary community:

> I can actually say I formed or started the first student organization on campus and became very active in student politics...to the point where our particular organization was responsible for establishing ethnic studies here....I was sincere in my desire to see ethnic studies grow. I wanted to put my money where my mouth was, so I went in that direction and turned down a full scholarship to Berkeley in law.

There is a sense of commitment, of having a goal (short-range), and of being needed which comes from having a social focus to one's career. This kind of social commitment is part of the motivation to get one started in a career. Some sample members found this commitment early, some late, and some mid-career. Some have continued the "passion" (commitment to an ethnic identity) throughout their career and some have seen their "passion" die out as the years have passed. Thus, there is a merging of group membership and work as careers develop.

Symbolic membership helps form an institutional identity. In the preceding section, a direction in career was established based on cultural background and socioeconomic status which opened the individual to the potential significant impact of mentoring and situational survival. How one is viewed by one's institution in professional career or how one views the institution, builds an institutional identity which influences the different courses one can take in making career choices. El Ejemplar provides an interesting view of his institution and how that view affects his career identity:

> In a way I regret coming to this system because it's untamed and it's mediocre. Since I started in them, [the system], I've sort of stayed....I really think the university is what I like, but my idea of a university is not really [this system].

> It's very different because you have people here that are full professors who haven't read anything and don't care about anything. Maybe it's the same some place else, I'm not sure about that.

This attitude presented by El Ejemplar not only defines his institution, but also himself in relation to his institution and thus suggests how he will negotiate with others within his institution. El Ejemplar views his institution with a slight sense of disdain, suggesting that his colleagues do not keep current with their disciplines. He views himself as different from his colleagues; to some extent better. His definition of himself, therefore, within his institution is one of being better than what is commonly accepted by his institution.

La Historia presents a very different perception of her institution and how she is perceived:

> I'm this really unorthodox person at the university. I'm like their child and I've grown up there. I'm this person who is expected to do all these crazy things and people that don't know me will make a nasty remark once in a while, but people that know me never say boo....

The institutional identity presented by La Historia has a very different quality to it. Where El Ejemplar defined himself and judged the institution by his internal standards, La Historia views herself as defined by what others in the institution say about her, a more external definition.

In relating the next vignette, El Barbero presents a different form of symbolic membership, that of his discipline. While most of the sample focus symbolic membership on inclusion in an ethnic community, El Barbero does not. To him, community is his department/discipline. This is an example of a more traditional career path where many professionals do, in fact, identify

with their discipline as a community of support and nurturance.

> ...but this math department is probably different than some other fields...math departments usually are....I think the sciences are a little different. Well, there are people who can use words and people who don't use words and the scientists are people who don't use words and also mathematicians....I think their perspective on life is different; their outlook, perception of life is different.

What is apparent from these examples is how people go about defining themselves in relation to their world, in relation to how they believe others view them, and in relation to how the perceptions of others are incorporated into their self-identity. El Ejemplar is an example of one who defines himself as superior to his institution. El Barbero is an example of one who defines himself as a traditional part of his institution, and La Historia is an example of one who allows the institution to define her. Three different perceptions and three different definitions exist. From these differences in definition one can begin to see how one's professional identity becomes very intertwined with one's actual job and institution. This also illustrates how careers do not exist in isolation but are a part of the larger environment (i.e. the institution and/or the discipline).

The dream or goal for one's life has developed slowly for this sample as the present time orientation and lack of planning established through situational survival continue to make long-range planning impractical. The dream is there, but it has a loose and ethereal nature to it. It was suggested by many of the informants, that if they don't accomplish "this particular goal (dream)" the course or path to the left or right looks almost as beneficial. Options and choosing within what one sees at the present time (Försterling, 1980; Maines, 1981; and Spector, 1982) makes situational survival work for

these participants. Sometimes an option or choice is only considered when there is a reason to look at the option (i.e., someone calls you up and says there is an opening for such and such a job at their institution--you hadn't thought about making a change until this person suggests it--again the idea of situational survival and mentoring working together).

In the following discussion, the significance of symbolic membership for these informants is made clear. A feeling of doing something positive "for my people" dominates the dream which is focused by critical life events to make symbolic membership in one's ethnic community a major factor in pursuing a dream. The informants need a reference point, a group to speak on behalf of, and a group to return to when they need support and nurturance.

Critical life events. For many of the sample, the movement into professional work happened because of a critical life event. The critical life event was one which produced a point of potential change. This situation occurs in the lives of most individuals as they contemplate a change in social status. As one begins to define and strike out on one's career path, critical life events occur which provide the choice of infusing a career with deep-seated meaning or merely maintaining a career as a job.

Critical life events play a major role in forming a dream and are defined for this sample as major issues which attract a significant portion of one's time and energy. Critical life events involve commitment, focus, and produce a sense of individual identity. Eight participants reported the Chicano Movement of the 1960's or their own prejudicial experiences of childhood or early adulthood to have been critical life experiences. These

catalysts became bases for forming a dream, going to college, and/or striving beyond their class bound expectations to do something with their lives.

An issue for this sample that may not be salient for samples 10 to 15 years from now is that each member of this study was an adult during the Civil Rights Movement. It impacted some much more than others, but they all lived through it. If this study were replicated 15 years from now, chances are that civil rights would not be as significant an issue as it has been for this sample. The tenor of the times goes hand-in-hand with the prejudicial experiences that many of these individuals had and combined, forms a powerful need in the individual to work on problems that he/she has witnessed or experienced. La Actividad provides an example of letting select experiences define her dream while retaining symbolic membership in a community:

> ...I witnessed a lot of educational discrimination. I had experienced it, I was an activist against it. I was a member of the group that sat in at the Board of Education's office and took it over in 1970 and active with the educational issues coordinating committee. So I came out of that activist orientation and training and I saw education as a logical place where I could make a difference.

Upon closer examination there are several factors which help provide the meaning necessary to follow a foreign path. Most important is the issue of motivation. High aspirations as exemplified by this sample do not exist without the drive to maintain the significant effort required to obtain advanced degrees. El Maestro provides an excellent example of the movement into professional work and the motivating factors which occurred

allowing him to pursue it:

> About that time, the Chicano movement, I began to realize that there were a lot of people out there that needed help getting off the ground. They asked me to help some teachers to teach in Spanish but they didn't have the skills. As I was the Spanish teacher, wouldn't I help them. Then I started being in contact with the schools and then I went to schools that had damn lines painted on the playground that made Mexicans play on one side and Anglos on the other. And it became a total obsession with me to remedy that situation to the extent that it cost me a divorce from my first wife because I started working on my doctorate and it took me away from home and I think it cost me. But it was worth it, in that now, I've helped a lot of people....I spent eight years of my life single, divorced, dedicating 100% of my life to those who were bilingual.

These examples are the material career dreams are built on. The career dreams of the participants are tied to some form of activism or based on childhood prejudicial experiences. They seem to be much more poignant and focused than the career dreams of the other participants who do not share such experiences. For this sample, critical life events and symbolic membership provide strong motivation to pursue and fulfill dreams as will be examined in the next section.

The dream. The dream, according to Levinson, is a vague sense of self-in-the-adult-world. It has the quality of a vision, an imagined possibility that generates excitement and vitality. Whatever the nature of the dream, the individual has the developmental task of giving it greater definition and finding ways to live it out. Each participant was asked if he/she had a dream. The following examples illustrate how each conceptualizes him/herself in the institution and the role that his/her dream plays. El Impresor responds:

> Right now I don't, aside from doing an excellent administrative job. I used to dream a lot. I used to dream of being in the foreign service, traveling, and serving an international organization and many of those dreams I fulfilled rather quickly.... Somewhere along the line I've got to start thinking about doing something else, that's for sure. These jobs are not permanent. You don't go into a Dean's position with the idea that you're going to spend the rest of your life...they are tenuous.

The quality of the dreams for El Impresor has both a past orientation of things already accomplished and a present orientation of what I'm doing now won't last forever. Thus, this individual does not necessarily see the institution providing the avenue for the realization of his dreams.

El Corázon conceptualizes his dream in a different way. El Impresor had a personal focus to his dream, no "passion" (ethnic commitment) except what he could attain for his life. El Corázon presents a much more universal, passionate dream with future orientation:

> I dream a lot, both personally and professionally. I would say that I dream of a more perfect world and of all the things that need to happen in schools, in our society, for a more perfect would to exist. That dream was really forged out of my own personal experience plus what I have seen other people suffer....I've experienced the positive myself as a student and as a teacher, so I know what's possible. Nobody can divert me from that, it's not a dream, it's reality. The fact that it's not widespread causes me to dream about making it widespread. That's why I've gotten involved so much in educational change efforts and bilingual education as a movement. I guess I dream of a time when people can interact without being forced into negative molds when dealing with one another.

While El Impresor sees his institution as limiting his dream, El Corázon perceives his institution as assisting him to fulfill his dream. One is a

positive, self-affirming identity and the other, a limiting identity.

A third perspective on the dream is added here by El Leon. His dream has a positive, passionate side to it. It reveals the importance for a Hispanic individual to maintain self-esteem in the process of developing a career. It is also illustrative of why the situational survival strategy of one small step at a time is mentally healthy for these informants:

> ...I wanted to be president of Harvard or Stanford, but at [my age] that doesn't look very likely. But I feel that if I have that as a goal, then if I become Dean, I will have succeeded. I think that people who come from a poverty background have long-range goals, have dreams, but the objectives, the short-range goals are obtained one step at a time. So you don't become frustrated if you don't become president....the fact that you can get into an institution is positive....Now if we can walk into a hospital and be treated as a human being, we've achieved part of that. So we don't get frustrated or feel like we've failed.

El Leon suggests that there is a built-in mechanism of survival, of self-esteem, that says knowing where I come from, even becoming a professional, is the accomplishment of a dream, let alone making it to the top of my profession. These three quotes suggest the range of responses, the commitment, and the passion that is involved for an Mexican American to negotiate a professional career path.

As illustrated by these vignettes, it makes a great difference in the individual's growth whether the groundwork for the dream is fulfilled. If the dream remains unconnected to the way a career is actualized, it may simply die, and with it a sense of aliveness and purpose. Those who build a life structure around the dream at critical junctures in their lives, have a better

chance for personal fulfillment, though years of struggle may be required to maintain the commitment and work toward its realization.

Thus the dream, critical life events, and symbolic membership create meaning in work. How these factors mesh as professional careers develop suggests whether the work being performed as a professional is meaningful (e.g. contains "passion") for the individuals. The next section provides a further exploration of the realities of professional careers, the various roles required of an ethnic professional, and the attainment of status in one's profession.

Traditional Work in Higher Education

The following analysis of "meaningful" work for Mexican American educators in institutions of higher education is based on looking at variations in typical lock-step career paths. Meaningful work is a construct developed from this study which implies that the individual gains a strong sense of satisfaction from the performing of one's duties (e.g., "I love teaching"). A contrast is also implied in this term suggesting that those individuals without meaningful work view their work as "just jobs". Having no meaningful work for some of the informants is explored later in this chapter.

Traditional careers in colleges or universities follow a rather lock-step progression. Entrance into a tenure track teaching position with possession of a doctorate usually begins with assistant professor rank and typically requires seven years before the individual is considered for tenure. During this time period the individual is expected to teach courses, publish scholarly works, and participate in department and campus committee activities.

Throughout the seven years there is periodic review of the individual's progress to maintain retention in his/her position. At the end of the seven years, if the individual has successfully accomplished these tasks, tenure is granted and the individual attains permanent status.

Next in the hierarchical structure is the fight for promotion. Promotion to associate or full professor is typically granted based on significant contributions to a field of research and/or proficiency in teaching and service to the community. Promotions to associate and then to full professor usually occur at four year intervals making attainment of tenured, full professor status approximately a 15 year process.

It was suggested several times in the interviews that it is difficult for non-tenured, non-full professors to have significant impact, voice, or prestige in departmental/campus decision making processes. Non-tenured, non-full professors usually do not speak out or take significantly diverse stances on issues since they wish to remain in favor with the powers that be to ensure eventual attainment of tenured full professors.

An important variation in the traditional career path occurs for some who move into higher education administration. Administrators have no tenure in their administrative posts but frequently hold academic rank in their discipline. Therefore, if an administrative career falls short, they have academic standing commonly known as retreat rights. Frequently when an individual comes to a new campus as a Dean or higher administrator, he/she comes without academic tenure or he/she bargains for it in the contract. Usually within one to two years after arrival as an administrator, the individual gains retreat rights in the department of his/her discipline.

A third variation in career path evident for members of this sample appears in careers in the community college system. In this system, the individual is on probation for three years and then if performance is deemed satisfactory, tenure is granted. Thus, as the career paths of the sample members are examined, bear in mind the traditional career path and the risks many of the sample have taken with their careers while going through this lock-step process.

Meaningful work integrates a moral and intellectual commitment. Most of the sample possessed a moral commitment to their work that they expressed through the phrase, "I want to do something for my people." Several sample members made an intellectual commitment in the form of intellectual pursuit in the area of something that would help other Hispanics. Of the 12 individuals studied, eight have spent time researching either bilingual education or ethnic studies. Thus, their moral and intellectual needs are fulfilled by the belief that what I do for my people has intellectual value.

El Ejemplar provides an example of one who developed both an intellectual and moral commitment in his work:

> I went from Assistant to Associate, got tenure, and I wrote some more stuff, and did research, and developed programs....I got involved in all kinds of issues....So I've been involved from real high government levels to grass roots operations, authored, researched, developed programs, I've done all kinds of nice things....

The life of a professional in higher education requires several tasks. If a professor, one must teach, research, publish, and provide service to the institution and the community. How the informants accomplish the required

tasks of higher education, as highlighted by El Ejemplar, can be a fulfilling part of the dream. It may also be a frustration, depending on the opportunities and support found in one's institution and how one uses personal strengths to accomplish those goals. These are critical places where having a mentor to support one's work, or a colleague who sees the value of one's work, play an important role. If there is no form of mentoring for the integration of these tasks, frustration, resignation, and stagnation easily set in.

Job as hobby. There are two other important aspects of professional work discovered in these interviews. First is the idea that meaningful work can be a hobby. It was stated by some of the informants that they so thoroughly enjoyed their work and they viewed it as such a rewarding experience, that much of the time, they were quite willing to put in extra time to accomplish goals. The following quote from El Leon illustrates this idea:

> ...one thing I didn't mention was that to many of us who are minorities, our job is our hobby. Few of us play golf or belong to the country club. Those kinds of things that the dominant society view as power. So that, because our job is our hobby, then we can put a lot of time into it, [we're] motivated to excel in what we're doing.

Secondly, there is an element of risk involved in having a social focus to one's career. Many individuals are not willing to risk career advancements on moral or ethical grounds. Performing meaningful work as it has been described here provides a forum to speak out on relevant issues. Usually those in power do not want to hear what is being said. They may even be threatened by it, thus it can certainly be a risk in traditional career terms to formulate and negotiate a career based on unpopular issues or

controversial ideas. A segment of this sample decided that moral issues, the reasons they chose their particular careers, were important enough to stake their careers on them.

El Ejemplar provides a look at the rationale one would use to justify this kind of decision:

> ...the thing that I think has hurt me the most was in my commitment to civil rights. If I wouldn't have stuck my two cents in there, getting involved, I'd be a lot further ahead. I don't know what I'd be, but I'd be some place very, very high. I feel that I have short-circuited a lot of my career because of my direct commitment to minority issues. The university doesn't want to hear about them, they don't want to face them... it scares the, you know, if you're effective they get scared....I have to make a decision not to do that and get ahead, or to say, to hell with getting ahead and I'll do what I think is right. So I've decided to do what is right.

Illustrated here are a variety of factors which motivate professional career and thus produce ideas such as job as hobby and a willingness to risk career stability and advancement on moral grounds. The dream comes into focus as the career becomes full blown and at the same time the dream in the career propels the individual's search for meaning.

In the examination of professional career of Mexican Americans, institutional perceptions of the individual as "mainstream" or "stepchild" affect the individual's identity. Freedom to make changes or roadblocks at each step develop either a fighting style (El Leon), a "who cares" attitude (La Historia), or, as will be seen in a later section, a resignation or stagnation attitude (El Dicho).

Most of the sample were willing to take on the task of becoming

cultural mentors. Some had great difficulty with this task as they had had little mentoring from which to draw. For others, cultural mentoring has become a significant part of what they do. Enjoying one's career--job as hobby--putting in the extra time and effort needed to accomplish change, appears to be more a result of other topics in this section. If the individual formed an institutional identity, felt good about the work he/she was accomplishing and accepted the role of mentor, work become a career, not just a job.

Cultural mentoring. Cultural mentoring, the idea of seeing oneself as a role model, is another integral aspect of meaningful work. Moving from being mentored to being a mentor is part of becoming a senior member of one's profession. It is something the elders are expected to do when they have learned "the tricks of the trade." For Mexican American professionals, there is an expectation to provide a significant amount of mentoring to their own--a sort of cultural mentoring. Cultural mentoring takes many forms. The following are types of cultural mentoring done by study participants: (a) providing guidance and time to students; (b) recruiting Hispanics into the profession; (c) serving as a role model for one's cultural community; (d) publicizing one's profession in one's community of symbolic membership; and (e) recruiting other Hispanics to join the professional ranks by letting others know when there are job openings.

El Leon discussed his view of why cultural mentoring is an important part of what he does:

> No, not as a spokesperson. I see myself more as a model, a model that shows that given the background that I came from, that I've shown that it can be done.

> As a model I don't go around telling the community... 'when you get to this position there are going to be more problems than you ever had', because maybe one of these days there won't be. Or, if I've made it, I've opened some doors for others.

El Leon illustrates an interesting point in the above vignette. It is not always easy to serve as a model. Sometimes the battles one fights as a model are so difficult psychologically, that it makes sharing hope and pride in one's profession very difficult. This is a significant stumbling block and suggests a reason why some Hispanics who attain professional positions do not accept the responsibility to provide cultural mentoring to others.

Cultural mentoring, something akin to Arvizu's (1984) cultural brokering concept, has other advantages and disadvantages. Cultural brokering is the idea that when an individual spans two cultures, he/she can take the best from both and work with groups from both cultures, helping both to come to some middle ground on any particular issue. Staying in touch with one's culture is part of a personal and professional identity and allows the individual to draw strength from it. In other words, external motivation is transformed into internal motivation through the strength of the group (e.g. knowing one is not alone, or that others are looking to you for guidance and leadership).

The burdens of cultural mentoring can be significant at times. There is often the desire to fight for equality. There is the impression by many Mexican Americans that one must be doubly competent to function in two worlds. With one foot in each camp, (that of the professional and that of the ethnic individual) it frequently feels as though one must do twice the work expected of a nonethnic person (El Leon--personal communication).

The concept of meaningful work pulls many factors together and gains meaning from those parts. It provides motivation to maintain effort, supplies symbolic membership in a primary community, allows role modeling, especially cultural mentoring to occur, serves as an integrator of a dream and professional work, and provides a forum from which the individual can pursue moral and intellectual commitment though a social focus. It is also a platform from which to change personal inequity experiences, and even provides a passion to work for the sake of what one can accomplish. This comes together and is exemplified by the comment expressed by many informants: "I want to help others." La Actividad expresses the passion and yet the uncertainty of what one feels and subsequently commits to by having vague and ethereal goals as guides to the passion of a career:

> The inhumanity of it infuriated me so much that I said that I'm going to say something about teaching these kids so that these kids won't be treated this way again....You see, I thought that if I had three letters after my name--it was all coming from a very naive orientation, that all that would change, the educational policies that I saw which were ultimately filtering down to children at the elementary school level [I would have had a hand in changing].

People involved in meaningful work are those who find ways to integrate some of their personal culture into their work. For some, it is something akin to a "calling"--a sense of purpose about how to approach one's profession. Goals are often based on meaning in work rather than a career. People aspire only insofar as it will improve their efficiency/impact for the community rather than individual advancement. This makes mobility a collective collegial/community effort rather than an individualistic career

path. This perspective helps tie the working class value system into a middle class, individualistic type of career.

Understanding the process of professional career. There are a set of standard negotiations which each individual must go through in a traditional career such as higher education, mixed in with the moral and intellectual commitments to one's community and the dream. Once the person has obtained a tenure-track position, whether at a two or four year school, a somewhat prescribed career path must be followed. That path dictates within certain limits what the individual must do to gain tenure or promotion. La Actividad shared an example of a friend who had been at her institution for six years and was about ready to go up for tenure:

> ...all these years she's been there, six or seven years, they never told her how many articles are needed for tenure review until some external review of the department and another dean came in and said, 'If you really expect to get tenure, you'd better have six articles.' And she said, 'Is that the magic number, six?' And he said, 'Yes, didn't you know that? Six at least. One for every year you've been here...he knew it, he knew what he would expect, but no one in her department said it's got to be at least six. Here, the woman's been asking how many articles, and they've been saying, no it's not the number, it's quality....But there are parameters and I think there must be a way to discover them. I see how other people work it. There is a mentor, there is an informal social network.

The above illustrates not only that there is a step-by-step method to moving up the ladder, but also that this information is not frequently shared with Hispanic individuals unless a mentor helps them through this period. This, too, is part of the intellectual and moral commitment of meaningful work. As part of the intellectual commitment, one knows that progress toward tenure

may not be easy, but the moral commitment to change pulls most through these potentially rough times.

Another means of making work meaningful to the individual is to focus on the social impact of what one is about and what can be accomplished. As El Corázon illustrates in the next example, the desire or push to improve or change what one sees can have a powerful impact on career decisions:

> And then I said to myself, I'm fooling myself if teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic to little kids is going to solve some of the problems that we've got. So I made the decision, it was a hard one for me, but I made the decision to leave the classroom. To leave the public schools and look for another way to try and change things so we wouldn't have stuff like that.

Experiences that individuals have as results of the first choices they make in careers (seven informants started as classroom teachers) often provide motivation to make changes in careers. The exposure at one career level can provide the awareness that the first level is not where change occurs, and that one must strive for a higher level. The main point in this section is that early career experiences with bureaucracies (e.g. frustrations with not having the power to actually change what one sees in need of change) can provide encouragement or the motivation to strive for higher degrees or positions to be able to affect the changes one sees. Thus, many of the individuals in this sample continued to strive for higher and more influential positions so that they could have an impact on the changes they saw as important. This recognition that change happens at ever higher levels of influence and the participants' recognition that they had to have the higher positions to accomplish the change provided motivation for many of them to continue their education and strive for higher positions.

Ample numbers of colleagues. When the individual involved in meaningful work focuses his/her efforts on making the institution responsive to ideas of equality and parity, the "struggle of the minority professional" takes on a more concrete and practical goal orientation. Several interviewees discussed how their positions in their institutions were either barriers to or platforms for demonstrating equality. Sample members discussed "in house" needs, those of making their institution an example of how "equity" should be practiced. None of the informants were totally satisfied with their institution's accomplishments.

Examples from interviews which follow highlight some concrete goals that individuals were happy with and other examples of how far they believed their institutions needed to progress. El Impresor discusses the first hiring of Chicanos and Blacks at his institution, when and why they were hired:

> I came in with a number of others who came in about the same time, say 1969 through about 1971, we probably had anywhere from a half dozen to a dozen Chicanos coming together to form the nucleus. I could take you right through the faculty roster and you would find that about every Spanish surname came in around 1969 or 1970. A lot of them came in the 1974-75 period but we kind of broke in by coming into the ethnic studies center. The same was true for the Black faculty.

For El Impresor, just bringing in a few Spanish surnamed faculty to a large university campus is a significant accomplishment. If one thinks back to the 1960's there were almost no Chicano faculty on any university campus even in the Southwestern United States. Thus, a practical institutional goal was to have a significant cadre of Chicano faculty; first as an issue of hiring

professional minority individuals to give "color" to the institution, and second to be role models to the students who went there to study.

Not enough colleagues to find support. When the supply of colleagues is small, the task for Hispanic professionals increases as there are not enough individuals to fight for parity and provide role modeling for students. La Actividad provides a great example not only of the isolation that occurs, but also of the work overload which comes with being one of a very small number:

> ...well it has benefits and it has detriments. There's a lot of demand on the part of undergraduate students for role modeling that I feel guilty by not being able to respond to because I've got my responsibilities here in the graduate school. I advise 27 doctoral students--that's much more than anyone else in the whole department....

La Actividad points out the lack of time she has to provide cultural mentoring because she is the only Chicana in her department. In the next quote, La Actividad continues by discussing the fact that she is the only Chicana on her whole campus and the isolation she experiences in that part of her role:

> The uniqueness is not, I don't think, particularly advantageous....When the rest of the Chicano faculty want to get together for a beer after a meeting, I go, but I feel funny. After a while they get rowdy...I feel awkward being the woman; and I can't, I won't fraternize at the male level. It's not my style. But I don't have any problems with them, interacting with them, but it's an awkward social situation and so much of the alliances and allegiances of higher education are of an informal, social nature--who you golf with, who you go workout with....

Day-to-day realities of the workplace take their toll on the ethnic professional. Almost all subjects interviewed in this study voiced that there

are not enough Hispanic faculty to share the burden of working with the community, providing cultural mentoring, as well as doing their assigned jobs. Thus, a continuing concrete and present goal for all of them is to hire Mexican American faculty to share the cultural mentoring tasks of the ethnic professional.

El Maestro discusses this issue as it relates to minority student retention and the cultural mentoring that faculty are expected to provide:

> To put it in their own words, they have a nice ethnic mixture on their two new campuses of students, but the damn faculties are lily white. And to add insult to injury, we're running about 30% or over [Hispanic student population] here at one community college and the top man is Black. No Chicanos, zero, none and the rest of it. Possibly one, but that person can't possibly meet the needs....So those are frustrating things as you're working along....

For most of the sample who are truly dedicated to the advancement of Hispanics in educational institutions, a constant "battle" focuses on making the institution responsive to the needs of minority students and faculty.

Frustrations of minority professionals. Many things provide day-to-day frustrations for all professionals (e.g., the bureaucracy doesn't move as fast as one would like) and adjustments are made in working relationships accommodate to these frustrations. Added to the foregoing frustration is that of the dual role of Hispanic faculty having to perform both their job duties and also act as cultural mentor and role model. A third frustration is the implication that majority faculty don't want to address certain needs of minority students and thus treat them in prejudicial ways.

El Dicho's experience at his community college suggests that certain faculty or programs are the only ones which can handle the problems of

minority students. His example relates how minority students are viewed and the segregating that goes on on many college campuses:

> They don't want the disadvantaged student to be on campus really, they don't want to offer remediation because they figure that's the responsibility of the high school or adult education. So consequently, they don't try to handle that type of problem with the students. That's why we are seen as a panacea for all minority students. If there is a minority student who has a problem, 'Oh, go to Educational Opportunity Programs and Services, or wherever they might send you because I have no knowledge of what you want.'

The impression one gets from El Dicho is that majority faculty are not being responsive to some students' needs just because they may belong to an ethnic minority. Thus, if a program exists on campus that is run by minority individuals, the majority faculty don't feel a need to be responsive, but can "cop out" by referring that student "to their own kind."

Another view of institutions not being responsive to minority students is highlighted by El Leon. The issue here focuses on the academic major that a faculty or student picks and how it is viewed by the majority establishment. Bilingual education has been law for at least the past 12 years, yet El Leon's experience on his campus continues to be one of non-acceptance. His perception and the way he gets treated is that:

> Bilingual education is still seen as a marginal program with marginal students, run by a marginal professor. And with that attitude of the core administrators, it's a barrier, because nobody wants a marginal professor on your faculty, no more than we want a marginal refrigerator in our kitchen. So, yet, we constantly have to fight and then when the students try to get into the credential program, they are seen as marginal students....

Student retention is another issue which the few Hispanic faculty had

a difficult time addressing because of lack of time and resources. With all the aforementioned frustrations (expectations of their jobs), another expectation is to meet all the needs of Mexican American students to insure student retention. Several informants saw student retention as the "last straw" in the long list of expectations administrators have of Hispanic faculty. Hispanic faculty often seem to be viewed as problem solvers for a wide variety of issues they may or may not be trained in.

Senior membership. Senior membership for this study is defined as reaching a place of prestige and/or respect within one's collegial group. As a senior member other faculty or colleagues seek out the senior member for advice and counsel. For the sample under study here, senior membership completes the mentoring cycle started in childhood. The senior member is now the person sought after by both students and colleagues for advice, as the person who will teach the next step in mobility. The senior member is also the person who gives the trusted non-racist comment on one's abilities and talents. Senior membership continues the characteristics of situational survival and present orientation begun as negotiating strategies in early career. The career moves of El Gerente help illustrate the guidance to move from one place to another. The key here is "lack of planning" even though the career path is in a constant upward move:

> I've been fortunate too, in that the principal leadership positions that I have taken on, and I have accepted, have not been positions that started out with me going in search of a job....And I've always approached my life in that way. I never close the door on opportunities or options, nor do I go out and actively seek where's the next step and where am I going to go in the next position or what have you. I work very diligently and actively at the particular position I have at that time

> and let the future take care of itself, and hope that things will continue as positively as they have gone in the past.

Encompassed in this vignette, is an extreme concept of present orientation, with little concern that future planning is needed or even appropriate. The case histories of other informants do not reflect this blind faith in the future that El Gerente has, but they do have in common the lack of future planning even in high professional positions.

Senior membership implies not only making the grade (e.g., full professor with tenure) but also obtaining the respect of colleagues who see the value of one's work as well as show acceptance by consulting on issues, providing feedback to one's work (writing and/or research efforts) or support concerns on or off campus. Senior membership is a place of collegial acceptance from which to speak as well as the security to speak because of the security of the position. It is also a security in one's identity: "I am a professor, this is my discipline, and this is how I do my work."

Senior membership adds a dimension to meaningful work of having been accepted by one's colleagues and of having the freedom to speak out on important issues. An interesting twist to the concept of senior membership is that the status is not created by the individual, but by the colleagues and students who view one as a senior member. Thus, for various reasons, not all sample members were able to achieve senior member status. It is also a status that doesn't apply to those in administrative tracks as those positions require loyalty to the chief administrator and one doesn't have the freedom to speak one's mind publicly.

Meaningful work is a goal of all the informants. Some find primary meaning in administration (El Gerente), some in producing in their discipline (El Barbero), some by continuing their dedication to Chicano issues (El Leon), while others get lost in trying to find meaning (El Dicho). Meaningful work, then, is a composite of several processes coalescing at a point in one's career when the individual realizes, "I have arrived." It retains qualities of the present orientation begun in childhood, and situational survival techniques dominate the accomplishment of situation-specific goals. The content of meaningful work is played out in one's choice of field, direction of study and research, and one's activity on campus (i.e., the issues one chooses to fight). The attainment of truly meaningful work for the sample members came through in the interviews as being able to provide cultural mentoring and role modeling while also dealing with the frustrations of work, peer isolation, lack of collegial support, and lack of institutional responsiveness to Mexican American student needs.

In the foregoing section, factors which provide motivation for work to be meaningful have been examined. As was seen, not all partricipants found the same reasons meaningful. Some found their sense of importance in "fighting battles" while others were just worn out by the constant struggles. Some found support and nurturance, a few did not. Now that the factors which provide meaning to minority careers in this sample have been identified, the following section examines how the participants negotiated to achieve them.

Negotiating Professional Careers

Personal Strategies in Higher Education Careers

The personal negotiating strategies of situational survival and mentoring persist into professional careers. Situational survival develops from adolescent "street smarts" into a political "savvy" or, as El Leon calls it, a sixth sense. As a personal negotiating strategy, situational survival affords the individual the opportunity to continue taking advantage of the present situation while remaining alert to prejudicial factors which may penetrate professional work. Situational survival also provides linkage between symbolic membership in the primary community and the roles and responsibilities of a traditional professional.

The need for mentoring continues as a form of institutional political awareness in professional career. Advice seeking, knowing whom to trust, and developing a collegial exchange group composed of "those who see the value of one's work," as La Actividad calls it, are forms of mentoring in traditional careers. This section examines both the gains and costs to professional careers as situational survival and mentoring influence the career development of Hispanics in higher education.

Situational survival as a personal negotiating strategy in professional careers. As professional careers develop and dreams become more focused, situational survival takes a more political focus. Politics exist in any institution as various members of the institution vie for power and influence. Keeping the power and/or influence that one has is often tricky and

challenging. The following quote from El Impresor's interview alludes both to the politics of the institution as well as to the situational nature of retaining one's position:

> This institution is changing very fast....We've got a new president. My role in the institution, my place in the institution is changing significantly and right now it's kind of a delicate time for us. We have people who have come in with other views. They give lip service to minority interests but there is a considerable feeling on a number of minority faculty and administrators that we have to be very careful right now. This administration could...is calculating enough to rearrange things so that we are shut out and they would deny it, but those are definitely the signals which have come through.

In professional careers it is difficult enough for the best to make gains or achieve a "dream." Being Mexican American compounds the difficulty of understanding and surviving the political nature of an institution because of the extra "baggage" of one's ethnicity. A political reality for Hispanics is the double bind mentioned earlier of having to fulfill the traditional role expectations as well as be responsive to one's primary community. El Gerente provides an example of the push and pull experienced by Hispanic professionals in higher education:

> I don't really agree that in academe there are strong feelings of being marginal for most people coming into the field as academicians. Now an ethnic minority person will usually feel that along the usual line of not seeing as many individuals like yourself in any field...the double bind of having to be competent and accepted and do all that you are expected to do in the usual sense of academia and also be responsive to the needs of Hispanics or whatever ethnic minority group you identify with and so on. And then all of the added burdens of time that get you involved with all the additional effort that is required....

This quote is illustrative of a general feeling among those sampled that they

had to be twice as good as a non-ethnic minority to be where they are. Time commitment to one's academic role, to be on the alert for acts of prejudice, and to be responsive to the community of origin are added burdens yet realities of the profession. Thus, in negotiating a professional career there are always costs which accompany the gains.

Many of the sample agreed that full professor with tenure was an essential position to have for many reasons. One becomes privy to institutional decision making processes, one can speak without fear of losing one's position, and in general, one has more influence. El Maestro highlights the issue of how the behavior of his colleagues changes when he is present. Thus, in terms of negotiating for what he wants from his institution, he makes sure his presence is known and felt:

> ...when tenured faculty meet and I'm there, they don't tend to be racist, but maybe I have a lot to do with it to remind them that there are people out there so....If we get enough Hispanics in the institutions who can prove they can do the job, then it will have a tendency to disappear even when there are no Hispanics in an institution.

El Maestro is not bitter or resentful of this approach, but views it as his job to keep his colleagues honest. In the following vignette, El Leon makes his own comment regarding the gains and costs of negotiating a professional career. In this quote, the challenge of enjoying one's career within the confines and the context of the political arena is represented from a rather philosophical perspective:

> When the job ceases to become a hobby, and becomes a job, I'll start looking. This job here is starting to grow like a job instead of a hobby. And one wonders, who wants a hobby with all these problems. Yet all these kinds

> of problems make it kind of challenging. So I guess it's kind of like golf. I guess you can have a hole-in-one which is very rare, or on a par 3, you can shoot seven times. Some people break their golf clubs, some people throw them away. Most people don't quit golfing because they don't get a hole-in-one. It's the challenge.

As has been highlighted by these quotes, using situational survival as a negotiating strategy includes some costs along with making gains in one's career. There is the political nature of an institution which one must always be aware of and be able to read if any particular situation is to be survived. There is the double bind spoken of by El Gerente where one must give time to the discipline as well as the primary community. Some of the sample members paid a high personal price (El Maestro) to negotiate this aspect of their career. And there is the added dimension of being an Hispanic professional which includes the role of "watch dog" for racism as well as assisting one's institution to make gains of equity and parity. Thus, situational survival as a negotiating strategy is applicable to many tasks of professional career progression and an important tool which assisted many of the informants to achieve their dreams.

The role of mentoring in personal careers. One aspect of professional career is surviving in one's place of employment. A more personal perspective is what happens in one's professional career with regard to attaining a dream and developing meaningful work. The role of mentoring has been pointed out at various stages of career development. Here, as one looks at the attainment of the dream, the role of mentoring is again examined in its effects on final outcomes. Two types of mentoring were used by participants in this study. Mentoring relationships was either long-term and formalized as Levinson has described or the mentoring received was short-

term and directed at a specific question or situation.

Of the 12 sample members, nine had momentary or situational mentors and used these mentors to some degree throughout the building and development of their careers. For these nine participants, situational mentoring worked well for most of them. These informants heeded and trusted the advise or guidance of another in a non-racist way, evaluated it and were able, to some degree, to act on that guidance for the development of their professional career. This was the case with informants such as El Leon, El Gerente, El Ejemplar, El Maestro, and others to lesser degrees.

For three individuals in the sample, more traditional mentoring took place at some point in their career. El Corázon utilized career mentoring to a significant degree, not during the tenured phase of his professional career, but currently in the climbing the administrative ladder phase of his career. He appears to be open to it, trusts the mentor, and thus, has a mentor who is currently functioning in the traditional sense of a career builder.

La Actividad and La Historia also have been more heavily involved in traditional mentoring relationships. For them, the results are somewhat mixed. The results of these two informants will be examined a little more closely in the following section on career paths. Suffice to say at this juncture that traditional mentoring for the sample studied had various effects. The best results occurred from using situational mentors and learning to direct one's own career path.

Professional Career Paths

The present careers of the 12 informants provide a sense that some of

the career paths have been successful in traditional terms of accomplishment and others have been stalled for a variety of reasons. Successful careers have been traditionally defined as the attainment of full professor with tenure or administrative careers where advancement is still possible. These individuals have taken advantage of mentoring, have learned to trust mentors at appropriate times, utilized situational survival to stay rooted in a primary community while moving through the ranks in mobility terms, and have kept a present orientation within a long-range career dream.

Those careers which have become stalled have hit such obstacles as too strong a mentor, not playing the institutional game with enough political savvy to survive crucial situations, and/or not having enough mentoring resulting in current floundering. Another aspect of stalled careers includes not focusing on a primary community in which to stay rooted and losing sight of the dream.

The ingredients and philosophies of traditional career paths will be highlighted here by quotes from the sample and will be examined for common group characteristics. Those individuals comprising the stalled career category will be examined on a more individual basis to illustrate how their careers have become stalled.

Successful Traditional Careers

Success in career terms can be measured in many ways. Of importance to this study is how individuals invest meaning in their work and derive meaning from their work. Some people define successful careers in

terms of attainment of a specific position. Others in this sample define career success as the meaning or satisfaction they gain from what they do. Both ideas are examined here. Thus far in this chapter, various quotes have highlighted the influence of mentoring and situational survival. Symbolic membership in one's primary community is one way of infusing meaning and motivation into the careers of many of the sample. In traditional terms of accomplishing tenure and full professor and being personally as well as socially satisfied with one's career, El Maestro encapsulates the culmination of a life's dedication:

> So whatever I have, that's it, I'm never going to be rich. I don't want to sacrifice the position I have now of trust with my students for money....And retirement to me is what I'm doing now. They're paying me to do the things I would have done anyway. If it wasn't for having to feed the family, I would do this [being a professor] for anybody.

From the foregoing quote one can see success for this person defined as "enjoying" what he does. The idea of job as hobby or "I do what I do because I love it, not because I get paid for it", is an extremely satisfying position to operate from. Few people are ever able to attain this sense of fulfillment in career.

El Ejemplar has another way of demonstrating his love of and satisfaction with his career in the following quote. Career success is never without some problems, and as this quote illustrates, personal ideals are not always easily translated for those whom one wishes (in this particular case) to mentor:

> I believe that you have to be intrinsically motivated and it's real hard to get kids to be instrinsically motivated so I don't stand in their way and they just generate

> themselves in terms of their own independence. And so as a result of that I don't patronize students. I treat them as equals, almost like a colleague, and I don't baby them....I want them to get excited, to get motivated, once I do that, I don't want to mold them in my way, I want them to go out and do their own thing....

Another of the components of successful careers found illustrated by the participants is highlighted by the following comment of El Maestro. Again, the success of career is measured by the attainment of full professor with tenure, yet El Maestro suggests that what must be done to be effective in higher education can't be done without attaining this level of success.

> If I didn't have the tenure nor the full professorship, then I would not be as effective as I am. See, right now, I can walk into [the president's] office and tell him, 'hey, you're really screwing up over here.' Whereas I couldn't have done that if I were still vying...you've got to have full professor and tenure before you can become effective in institutions of higher learning.

In the foregoing three examples, correlates of successful careers are illustrated. The participants included success as: (a) the idea of job as hobby or truly enjoying one's work; (b) gaining satisfaction from watching what one accomplishes (e.g., watching students grow and develop), and (c) the attainment of a position that allows one the freedom yet security to speak out on issues. These correlates add to or enhance personal satisfaction and invest careers with meaning.

The general ingredients of successful careers for Hispanic educators include: (a) early and continued mentoring, primarily situational in nature; (b) symbolic membership in a primary community which provides motivation, responsibility to, and nurturance from that membership; and (c) a personal negotiating strategy of situational survival which encourages the formation

and development of a dream. The specific acts which infuse successful careers with meaning and the correlates mentioned earlier, are the ingredients which provide meaning to one's work and the motivation to continue pursuing the career even though it gets discouraging at times. At the time of the interviews, six informants had successful careers when evaluated on the foregoing criteria: El Maestro, El Gerente, El Corázon, El Leon, El Ejemplar, and El Impresor.

Stalled Professional Careers

Of the sample, six members were stalled in their careers at the time of the interviews. Each participant will be examined individually to highlight what from the foregoing success criteria was missing for that individual. Thus far, work infused with social and personal meaning has been explored. If a distinction is made between a career and a job, it is then important to understand why some individuals do not invest their work with any form of social meaning.

Too few mentors. El Dicho illustrates the attitude one finds when there are too few mentors to help analyze one's situation:

> ...I don't see any change. But I can deal with that as long as I know where they're coming from....I think that if I wanted to advance in administration, I probably would be frustrated knowing that I could never make it because of their attitude, but since I don't want to and I don't socialize with them or I'm not one of the good old boys that wants to join the club, hell, I can leave them.

The substance of this reaction focuses on the frustration of not being accepted for what one does, and not feeling any support for efforts made. Thus, lack of desire to be a part of the "club" is a potential result.

Loss of the dream. Finding little or no meaning in one's work comes from a variety of sources. In the first example, El Dicho felt tied to a job for security purposes. In this example, the outstanding feature is that he has lost the focus of his dream. What one sees at this point is an individual not willing to risk his career on ethical grounds. What happens then is that security and status become more important than functioning as a change agent (Arvizu, 1984). Thus, a transformation from meaning-motivated work to survival-motivated work takes place. For the Mexican American, what is apparent is the "sell-out" nature of the individual's presentation of self and the loss of symbolic membership in one's primary community. El Jugador illustrates the loss of a dream and the acceptance of "just a job" as he sees that the way he has negotiated his career is not going to accomplish previously set goals:

> Let's say I had a dream. I wanted to be president of the junior college. But it's not possible. I know the realities. I know the political games that you have to play....some people don't trust people, don't trust me, and as you move up the ladder you have to zig-zag back and forth and that's how you compromise your principles. So my dream, if I had a dream, would have been to become president of our junior college and that's not possible. I'm realistic, I know that.

There are many roadblocks that can stymie, detour, slow down, or divert a career path whether one is Hispanic or of the majority culture. Too few mentors, need for security, few alternatives, putting out just enough effort to get by, or losing sight of the dream, are realities that can roadblock careers.

Negative effects of mentoring. In La Historia's case, she continues to be so involved with her mentor that she has been unable to focus her own

career goals. Thus what she has allowed to happen is a career defined as much by her mentor as by herself. The result in this career is a lack of concrete direction and thus the individual is voicing confusion.

For La Actividad, the loss of a mentor who saw the value of her work, sent her career in several different directions. Her primary mentor was in the process of teaching her how to survive in an elite institution and without his guidance, she has become unfocused and now flounders.

Sometimes an individual is not able to be open to the mentoring experience. There is nothing that says because one is Mexican American, one must fight for the "cause." As for many people in our society, the paycheck is a means to another end--leisure time. Some individuals work to support their families and when they come home, "free time" is considered living. While no one in the sample blatantly stated they worked only for the paycheck, a few sample members alluded to the fact that they were not fulfilled in their work but were biding their time.

El Dicho appears to be an individual caught between two places. On the one hand he is not happy with his work. On the other hand, his need for financial security traps him in his job and he appears to see no other alternatives. Thus, he has closed himself off to many other possibilities including mentoring:

> I guess an easy thing for me to say would be retired because I only have five more years to go before I've put in 20 years with the state. But I know that I probably won't be able to retire because I'd probably be getting $7 a month if I did....At this point I think I have to stay in education and that's kind of a rub, because I'm locked into it. But for security purposes I don't think that I could leave the system...if I quit and went somewhere else, it would be foolish of me,

> so I'd have to stay within the state system in employment, and I know that I wouldn't go into elementary or secondary, or the four year, so the community college is where I think i'm going to stay.

The resignation in this passage, because of El Dicho's need for "retirement and security", is evident. The frustration he is experiencing seems to be limiting his ability to feel comfortable with career options and advancement.

Other career detours discovered in the interviews are "job souring" and acquiescing to a job for the job's sake without concern for the needs of others. There is a basic maintenance strategy here which speaks to the individual's need to put the time in, the required time to accomplish tasks and then one's "free" time is what is rewarding and fulfilling. El Barbero provides an example of "my time" and "their time". The question he is responding to in this quote has to do with not wanting to take on added responsibilities in his department: "...I think it would take too much of my time...it would take things away from my time that I want to do...other things...and I don't think it would really make a difference." The compartmentalizing is very clear in this quote. The implication is that one doesn't want to do any more than one must to do the work, and the rest is "one's own time" to pursue one's own pleasures.

The stalling of a career can happen when efforts are consumed with surviving or staying afloat. No extra time or effort is put into the job and a Hispanic found in this situation only takes on "issues" when forced to do so. Thus, the individual may try to assimilate completely using a non-minority identity.

This is a very concrete, present oriented, and defensive position implying that the individual will risk little at either a personal or professional

level. Implied rationales for not finding meaningful work varied among individuals. Some felt as though they could not find meaningful work because they might lose the security or what little prestige they had. Others found that their current position was the only option they were able to see. This outlook involves no planning with a dream focus; plans focus on safety, security, and survival at a minimal level.

The combination of situations which makes one career successful and another stalled vary by the individual experiences each person has and how they are interpreted and utilized by the individual. In this chapter, the core ingredients in negotiating successful careers of Hispanic educators have been examined. Those who have not been as successful as they had hoped have been highlighted to illustrate the roadblocks which can happen to stall careers.

Summary

The main theme of this chapter has been the idea that individuals negotiate their careers in an attempt to find meaning in their work. This chapter addresses several issues related to meaningful work, what constitutes it, and what happens when there is no meaningful work.

The process of entering and developing a professional career begins with the experiences accumulated in the pre-terminal degree period. Thus, creating meaningful work means integrating four issues into one's life. Deciding how one will maintain symbolic membership in a community is basically decided pre-terminal degree. For 11 of the 12 sample members, picking a discipline (i.e., education or ethnic studies) was a way to integrate

an institutional identity with critical life events (such as the effects of the Chicano Movement) into their dream. Around the terminal degree period each sample member focused on a career in higher education. Some dreamed of increasing general knowledge of Hispanics and their educational needs, others dreamed of making educational institutions more responsive to Hispanic student populations. One sample member found his community of symbolic membership in the field of mathematics. These are all ways the participants found of satisfying their need for group membership and linking themselves with their origins in the working class.

Once the dream and symbolic membership have been integrated into who the individual is, dealing with a very traditionally structured institution raises other issues and realities that require investment of time and energy. In this sample, it was found that informants made choices based primarily on a moral commitment to helping people or an intellectual commitment to their field. For those who found meaning in their work, their jobs were viewed as their hobbies. El Maestro goes so far as to state that he would do exactly what he is doing now even if no one paid him to do it.

Mentoring in professional career occurs in a variety of places. Situational mentors help with the tasks of promotion and/or tenure. They can help with suggesting the next job to take (as in El Gerente's case) and they provide collegial support and assist the individual in attaining senior membership. When one has taken advantage of situational mentoring, one learns how to mentor and thus becomes able to provide the role modeling and cultural mentoring that is frequently asked of Mexican American professionals.

Negotiating professional careers is a difficult task at best even if one comes from a middle class background. If that isn't the case, developing negotiating strategies such a situational survival and some sense of political savvy increases the chances that the individual will succeed. The negotiating process also includes keeping the dream at a reasonable level so that small accomplishments are viewed as successes. If dreams are set too high and other options don't materialize, loss of the dream and bitterness occur as exemplified by El Jugador.

The path through a successful career in the traditional setting of higher education requires getting to know the structure and developing a strategy to move through it. Successful careers in higher education for Hispanics include utilizing mentors to point the next step, provide support and guidance, and reflect the value of one's work. Situational survival keeps the dream in focus as well as options open. Another task of being in a traditional type of institution is understanding how the institution works. Learning how to negotiate a bureaucracy is a major task of successful careers. Careers get stalled when there is either too much reliance on one mentor, when there is not enough mentoring, when the dream does not materialize, and/or when one does not find and accept a primary community. In other words, no meaningful work means a considerable amount of floundering, career indecisiveness, and unclear goals which have wasted large amounts of time in negotiating careers.

Professional careers don't just happen, especially for Mexican Americans from working class backgrounds. Meaningful work doesn't just happen, meaning must come from somewhere. How careers develop and

the paths that are followed have been discussed as negotiating strategies in this chapter. For the sample studied, situational survival and symbolic membership in a primary community are major negotiating strategies. Situational survival can provide the political understanding to successfully negotiate particular situations, whatever the individual's approach is to his/her institution, community, or colleagues. Symbolic membership in a primary community can provide the motivation, aspiration, and nurturance to pursue short-term and long-term career goals. It helps to maintain the dream and keep it focused. Individuals develop negotiating strategies that are unique to their own needs. Some individuals are vocal, some are passive, some make things happen, while others wait to see what will happen.

Chapter 6 presents conclusions and recommendations. The evolution of careers in higher education for Hispanics is presented as a process inclusive of the elements which make for successful or stalled career paths.

Chapter 6

Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter presents the findings of the study and discusses implications for further research. The first part of the chapter presents the major findings and summarizes factors which influence upward mobility in this sample of 12 working class Hispanics who moved into professional careers in higher education. The last part of this chapter outlines the implications of this study for further research in the form of hypotheses which can be examined by more empirical methods.

Twelve informants were studied using in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The individual stories, the socialization, enculturation, and adaptive responses of these individuals describe a process of upward mobility. The findings of this study show career development set in two broad stages: early career and professional career. An underlying theme of this study has been adult development (Levinson et al., 1978; Neugarten, 1968; and Vaillant, 1977). A second theme was identified by the literature on negotiations. Because the sample picked for study was from the working class, a third, important theme was that of mobility. This study has attempted to integrate the three concepts as a way of analyzing the career paths of upwardly mobile Hispanic educators.

Negotiating Mobility: The Career Paths of the 12

This study was constructed within the framework of Levinson's model

of adult development. As Levinson found, there are specific tasks which must be accomplished during each time period. One of the tasks found most important by Levinson is that of the dream. Levinson defines the dream as a goal that is established early in life and reevaluated and modified throughout the adult life cycle.

For the sample studied here, the dream is best considered as a set of motivating factors which help the individual persevere into an uncertain future. For the dream to be meaningful and useful for the participants, the dream had to be externally defined by mentors. It also had to be set in the reality (concreteness) of the present which meant that the dream remained vague and imprecise. The dream had to also be somehow rooted in a community of symbolic membership. For most of the participants, the dream focused around being Hispanic, and choosing work which reflected their group membership (helping Hispanics in education).

The process of early career is influenced strongly by the present time orientation of the working class. It is generally accepted in sociological literature that minority individuals from the lower socioeconomic level are the least likely to be mobile. Thus, what appears to make mobility possible for this particular sample is a set of characteristics based on early mentoring and situational survival.

Both traditional and situational or momentary mentoring included encouraging remarks from parents, siblings, teachers, and/or peers that placed value either on education or on an individual's abilities. Some examples of early mentoring included: (a) encouragement for academic achievement from teachers, which frequently was situational or momentary;

(b) parental encouragement to do well in school to make the child's life better than the parent's, which usually was traditional mentoring; (c) and/or encouragement to stay in school because the child needed to help the family, which may have been either kind of mentoring. These kinds of encouragement, coming from a rather sparse environment, were recalled as powerful motivating statements. Whether acted on in the present or held in reserve, early mentoring apparently provided motivation for upward mobility, at least in the retrospective recollections of these participants.

All sample members received some form of childhood mentoring. Some of the mentoring was negative in the form of prejudicial treatment. Gatekeeping in early career often slowed career development or fostered doubt about one's abilities. Occasionally, it diverted the individual into some alternative path until mentoring reoriented one to the next step in mobility. The participants who received the most gatekeeping in childhood or early career were also the same ones who started late and took the longest paths to attain their professional careers. Thus, from the experiences elaborated by the participants, gatekeeping certainly produced negative effects on career progression.

Another factor influencing careers was situational survival. Situational survival is essentially a decision making model developed in early life. In the early career stage of development, situational survival requires the mastery of being able to reading a variety of situations. The practice of situational survival develops an intuitive sense that one choice is better than another. Situational survival involves no future planning, but simply is a reaction to the needs of the present situation. One lesson of

situational survival in early career is learning to trust a non-prejudicial mentor. The mentor has suggested the possibility of a dream, and as situational mentoring continues, a vague sense of a makeable future begins to focus into a possible reality.

Early career teaches the skills and sets up the dream to be fulfilled in professional career. Experiencing positive mentoring instead of gatekeeping, learning to trust the advice of another, learning to read situations and evaluate which options to take, all combine to forms the dream and provide the motivation for mobility. Developing a community of symbolic membership from which one ventures into the world fulfills group membership needs and provides another motivation to struggle up the mobility ladder.

This study examined the techniques professionals used to interact with other people from a negotiation perspective. Negotiating strategies in early career focused on how to form and move toward career dreams. Situational survival as a strategy to make decisions was important as it based decision-making on what the participant saw as most advantageous at the moment. In professional career, negotiating strategies focused on retaining one's position, moving up the career ladder and attaining senior membership. If mentoring produced solid negotiating strategies in early career, movement through professional career went rather smoothly. If faulty negotiating strategies were developed because of gatekeeping or inadequate mentoring, stagnation and a sense of not going anywhere with one's career developed.

The process of career development in mobile Hispanic educators was

found to have an incremental nature to it as do most careers. The small, present-oriented steps suggested by situational or momentary mentors pointed the way toward the dream without defining it in a future oriented way. The sample remained rooted in their primary communities through the choice of a career. This helped them stay rooted in a major cultural value--that of family.

A key ingredient which facilitates mobility in working class individuals is the retention of a community of primary membership. The community of symbolic membership was established by all the informants in one way or another. For some, choice of discipline (i.e., ethnic studies or bilingual education) provided links to the community of origin. They reported that their career choice was made to have a positive impact on their community of origin. One sample member found a close-knit community in his discipline. These variations on community provided the working class individual with roots from which to draw support, nurturance and identity while negotiating a career.

Mentoring in professional career was highly influential for all sample members. Some had a plentiful supply of mentors and learned how to take advantage of the mentoring without getting too attached. They moved forward with their career. Mentoring in professional career has functioned as gatekeeping. The variation is exemplified by the following paths: (a) The loss of a mentor or no significant mentoring in professional career resulted in stalled professional career paths. Giving up or job souring usually ensued. (b) When an individual grew to be too dependent on the mentor, the individual's career also became stalled because the dream or goal was not

internalized and dependency resulted.

The lessons learned from struggling through professional careers are the important things to transmit to others. By the time sample members attained senior membership, they had acquired the knowledge and vision to provide cultural mentoring. This has occurred in almost all cases. Some have done this by recruiting Chicanos into their institutions and mentoring them through. Others have provided cultural mentoring to other professional Hispanics.

The final phase of professional career development is that of senior membership in the profession. This is a point when professionals no longer frequently seek out the advice and help of others, but have advice and help requested of them. Five of the 12 informants have already reached this career stage. Senior membership is the culmination of the process of learning to be mentored, of breaking social class boundaries, and of learning appropriate negotiating strategies to achieve mobility.

The persistence of social class characteristics such as symbolic membership and situational survival were evident throughout the career spans of the sample. Both were stable characteristics, as potent in early career as in professional career. They became a part of how the sample negotiated their careers. Mobility required using mentors to point out the next step by framing choices as different options in the present (e.g., "This looks like a good opportunity now"). The mentor also helped focus the dream a little at a time, while the individual found ways to retain membership in a primary group. This helped provide the motivation to continue moving forward when the "going got tough".

In summary, negotiating a career for Hispanics from lower social class backgrounds requires early career mentoring, reading situations which are possibly based on negative experiences, and choosing a path which looks better. Prejudicial experiences along the way teach the individual how to negotiate utilizing the resources of the mentor and the dream. Within the condition of a present time orientation, there is also the need to retain symbolic membership.

Another way to summarize is to return to the questions raised in Chapter 1:

1. How do Hispanics from working class backgrounds become upwardly mobile? Hispanics from working class backgrounds become upwardly mobile by developing a process of maintaining a present time orientation and allowing non-prejudicial mentors to point out the next step. Thus, there is no need to have long-term goals, as what one has at the moment is somehow better than what one had before. The fact that one grows up poor and a minority member, conditions how one approaches life. An understanding of the culture of the poor will assist educational professionals provide appropriate forms of mentoring to Hispanic youth.
2. What negotiating strategies do they use to gain employment and advancement in higher education? Situational survival develops as a career negotiating strategy leaving open the ability to make immediate decisions without future planning, yet with a sense that something better is possible. The key ingredient in negotiating careers for working class individuals is the idea that one does not lose the symbolic community, but creates a way of maintaining one's working class identity by focusing career

on the needs of the symbolic group.

3. What is the role of mentoring in becoming upwardly mobile? The role of mentoring is crucial. It is a way of taking, from a somewhat sparse environment, enough encouragement from a variety of sources, to keep the individual moving forward. Mentoring can be positive in the form of support and encouragement. Negative impact occurs with constricted options provided by some form of gatekeeping. Mentoring experiences assist the individual's development of self-esteem and opens up many situational choices. Gatekeeping fosters a more negative self-concept which, as described in this study, stalls the individual's career by making the path longer or increasing the chances that the individual will give up on the dream.

4. What sorts of careers do upwardly mobile Hispanics develop in higher education? What are the patterns and characteristics of early career? Professional career? This study examined 12 individual careers of upwardly mobile Hispanics in higher education. Some informants chose administration, some chose teaching, and others chose student support services. The area of higher education was not as important to career path as was the individual's ability to develop the skills necessary to survive in institutions of higher education. Early career forms the basic learning period for survival skills. The requisite skills include: (a) being open to momentary mentoring, (b) finding and keeping a community of symbolic membership, (c) keeping the dream incremental so failure doesn't ensue, and (d) keeping options open so that one can take advantage of the next step. These skills are developed in early career and refined in professional career into such

skills as political savvy, cultural mentoring, senior membership, and understanding how to negotiate bureaucracies. When a career becomes stalled or perhaps even lost, the implication is that one of the above skills was not developed or utilized (e.g., not listening to mentors, not being grounded in a community of symbolic membership, etc.).

Practical Implications of Findings for Professional Educators and Counselors

This study asked some important questions about how minority individuals from working class backgrounds become mobile and succeed in professional careers. The answers to these questions are formulated at this point as a set of hypotheses. The ability to identify in a more definitive way the practices, processes, and ideas which create upward mobility in the population under study here, is useful in a number of different fields.

Counselors and teachers who actively seek to help Hispanic youths, must be aware of the significance of the multiple forms mentoring. For the informants in this study, early forms of mentoring assisted these individuals in developing a positive self-concept and opened their eyes to consider the possibility of a makeable future different from that of their parents. These individuals needed to have their strengths told to them. Thus, it is suggested here that every word or act of encouragement that is given to Mexican American youth, while it may not be acted on in the present, helps form a reservoir which, when an opportunity presents itself, can be used.

Another implication is that these individuals will not walk into the counselor's office and ask to be mentored. Thus, it is the responsibility of the educational community to reach out and find Mexican American youth with

talent and mentor them. It is common knowledge that most individuals who are successful have had some form of encouragement along the way. The most effective form of mentoring for working class youth is the reinforcement of a skill or ability that they currently have coupled with the pointing out of the next step.

The scope of this study did not include an examination of the long term effects of gatekeeping. Three sample members experienced significant gatekeeping, but were able to overcome it in the long run. It can be suggested at this point that, based on what was examined in this study, less mentoring or no mentoring might mean lower success. All the participants received mentoring and all developed some situational survival tactics, thus all gained some level of professional success. The material presented here points to a relationship between mentoring and success in Hispanic youth. How strong that relationship is will need to be examined in the future with a larger population.

Therapeutic counselors and career counselors have an obligation to assist minority individuals to look at a broad spectrum of choices, not to limit choices. It was found in this study that gatekeeping or simple omission can keep an individual from developing skills and talents in a timely fashion. Thus, whether prejudice is practiced overtly or covertly, it can be just as detrimental to a potentially upwardly mobile minority person.

Recommendations for Future Research

The following recommendations for future research are based on the fact that this study was limited by two constraints: (a) This study dealt with

adults' recollections of events in their past; thus one must make some kind of allowance for the way participants remembered historical events. (b) The study focused on education professionals which is a narrow sample of the professional world. Based on the findings of this study regarding factors that contribute to the mobility process for working class, Hispanic educators, future research should focus on the following hypotheses:

1. There is a significant impact from mentoring when presented in a formal way to children at various points in their education.
2. Above average ability Hispanic youth can attain professional careers by making the small steps in the mobility process concrete and tying them to a symbolic community.
3. In high schools which implement cross-age mentoring programs, there will be a higher proportion of Mexican American students who enter college than in schools in which there is no mentoring program.
4. Hispanics who enter a variety of professions need to receive multiple forms of mentoring to achieve professional status as do Hispanics who enter the field of education.
5. There is a positive relationship between the amount of momentary mentoring received by Mexican American high school students with above average ability and those who attain professional careers.
6. Professional work is significantly more meaningful for minority professionals who are attached to a community of symbolic membership than for minority professionals who do not belong to a community of symbolic membership.
7. One area which could not be examined satisfactorily in this study deals

with the mobility paths of Mexican American women. One of the two women in this study fit the mobility pattern for the ten men quite well. The other fit a traditional female career path in that she interrupted her professional career to raise a family. This variation suggests that the career paths of female, upwardly mobile, minority professionals is a separate topic worth closer examination.

This study asked some basic questions and came up with hypotheses which appear now to have only scratched the surface. Future research along the lines mentioned above will give a clearer picture of what it takes to make working class Hispanics upwardly mobile.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions

Demographic Data

Name Age

Marital Status Current Position

Childhood--Migrant, Stable, Combination?

Childhood language dominance

Place in the sibling hierarchy?

Single parent or dual parent family?

Open ended questions

1. Growing up, what was your relationship like with your siblings? parents?
2. What was it like growing up in a different culture?
3. When and why did you decide to go to college?
4. How did you choose education as a career?
5. Who's been particularly encouraging? discouraging?
6. What has been your career path and how did you get here?
   a. Degree of conflicts and anxieties about your career?
7. Do you have a dream?
   a. What is the nature of the dream?
   b. Is it still alive? How?
8. Have there been struggles in your career path? who's helped? who's opposed?
9. Is institutional position a barrier? to what? in what ways?
   a. How did you read each situation?
10. What do you see for yourself 5 years from now?
11. Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Appendix B

Format for Presentation of Case Studies

Each interview was taped and then transcribed. Once the interview was on paper, the following questions and concerns were asked of the material on paper. In answering the following questions, data was collapsed into approximately three page case histories with an eye to highlighting mentors, how they survived situations, basic career paths, and negotiation strategies.

A. Developmental Stages--how did they negotiate the following:
   1. Places in the life cycle--followed Levinson's path?
      a. Early adult transition
         1. How id they choose their occupation
         2. How many options did they try first?
         3. How did the dream form--is there a dream?
         4. Did they have a mentor?
      b. Middle adulthood
         1. Did they find their niche
         2. What has been their course to advancement
         3. When did their commitment to Chicanos develop if at all?
         4. Early starter? Late starter?
         5. The mentor's role is to share the "rules of the game"--if there is no mentor, then the rules are learned the hard way?
         6. Has a second, stronger structure been built or will triviality, stagnation and decline dominate?

B. Negotiation perspective

1. Are there negotiation patterns in the life cycle?
2. How or do the subjects change by Levinson's periods
3. Do different strategies emerge--identify and define
4. How did they negotiate a career path?
5. Did they know or realize they have gotten their jobs because of their ethnicity? Would they be where they are if they were no Chicano?
6. Where am I now? what have I done? Of what value is my life to society, other persons and myself?